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ABSTRACT

Drawing from a recent research report, highlights of previous research, expert opinion, and practical experience, this report seeks to create in teachers, administrators, counselors, tutors, and other learning resource personnel an awareness of the influences of culture on them and their students. Part I takes a preliminary look at the culture conflict problem, examining "what we think we know," the concept of cultural baggage, the need for an expanded vision of culture, and the perspective of the victim of culture conflict. Part II examines the particular aspects of culture conflict, including its emerging patterns, educational values, educator participation, student teacher communication, the teaching/learning process, and ethnicity and race. Part III considers ways of dismantling the culture conflict problem, addressing the cognitive/affective needs of learners and educators, the hidden agenda of personal values, culture-bound factors of communication, cultural diversity and learning behavior, the learning environment, instruction, and institutional approaches and practices. Cultural adaptation and accomodation are the focus of part IV, which includes recommendations for affecting change, staff development, research programs, and practical ideas. Finally, part V lists significant points that participating students and educators suggested for future scrutiny. (EJV)

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CROSS-CULTURAL CONFLICT IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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National Association for Developmental Education

Cross-Cultural Conflict in Higher Education

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CROSS-CULTURAL CONFLICT IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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PREFACE

If we are to do justice to individual differences, if we are to provide suitable education for each of the young men and women who crowd into our colleges and universities, then we must cultivate diversity in our higher educational system to correspond to the diversity of the clientele. There is no other way to handle within one system the enormously disparate human capacities, levels of preparedness and motivation which flow into our colleges and universities.

John W. Gardner

On any day, in any city, at any time, blink your eyes or turn your head and the cultural entity before you is likely to change, that is, if you venture into situations where there are other people. A dynamic American population and reclassification of its diverse lifeways make the "culture-blink test" possible.

While it was once fashionable to identify various cultures by race or religion, a recent knowledge explosion plus demands from ethnic and social subcultural groups for increased respect have generated widespread sensitivity to cultural distinctions such as sex, social class, handicappism, age, and even ugliness. Also recognized now are the implicit forms of within and between group differences which are culturally relative, but heretofore enjoyed little attention as distinguishing cultural characteristics: perceptions, attitudes and values. Together these characteristics produce a multiplicity of distinct subcultural groups and shape the broad definition used throughout the report. Logically then, the more culturally diverse groups there are in society, the more likely it is that group members will come into contact with each other. Thus, the "culture-blink test" evidences at least face validity.

Because their work dictates constant interactions with people from all walks of life, it is not surprising that public service workers probably experience more disparate cultures than anyone else. Educators in higher education are examples of such workers. Desegregation, open college admissions and the return of many adults to postsecondary classrooms contribute to the diverse student populations they serve. Hodkinson (1983) noted that the percentage of minorities in American public schools is now 46 percent in Texas, 43 percent in California, and 32 percent in New York State. He projected further that by 1990,

minorities would constitute 20 to 25 percent of our total population, and that higher education would experience a smaller contingent of white, middle-class students, making it necessary for institutions to develop new programs to attract minorities and older adults. Most educators accept the changing cultural context of their work environments, but frequently it is difficult for them to understand and accommodate the multiplicity of cultural variants they encounter in students (Fleming, 1981; Nieves, 1978; Austin, 1976; Boyd, 1974; McDaniel and McKee, 1971).

The need to be able to identify, understand and accommodate conflicting cultural lifeways which impede teaching and learning is especially pervasive among college and university educators. That they have raised many questions at conferences and workshops suggests a desire to grow personally and professionally, to become culturally literate. What are the culture-bound behaviors of educators and students that lead to poor faculty-student relationships and conflict? Precisely how does cross-cultural conflict affect desired teaching and learning outcomes? What can educators do to minimize such conflict and facilitate improved student performance? How can educators accommodate the cultural diversity of students without denying their own cultural backgrounds and lifeways?

Until recently, the response of educational researchers to educators who find themselves underprepared for serving culturally diverse students has been somewhat one-sided. For the most part, past efforts focused narrowly on improving elementary and secondary school environments; higher education received little more than cursory attention. Of the researchers who did address cultural phenomena in higher education, most collected data on students utilizing what might be described as the AAA (Triple A) Approach, i.e. documenting the attitudes, adjustment needs and resulting achievement problems of students, especially minority students in majority institutions. Such an approach supports building theories that are useful for changing the behavior of students, but fails to consider an equally important set of variables: the culture-bound behaviors, attitudes, and adjustment needs of educators which have impact on faculty-student relations and, ultimately, the academic success of students.

This research report, **Cross-Cultural Conflict in Higher Education,** is the first in a series of responses to educators who experience culture shock and conflict in their work settings. It is intended for classroom instructors, administrators, counselors, tutors, and other learning resource personnel. The report is based on information

gathered by the Cross-Cultural Project in Higher Education. Results from a recent research project, highlights of previous research, expert opinion, and practical experience are included here. Advancing the cultural literacy of educators in mainstream American colleges and universities is the major purpose of the report and the project. Spindler (1963) explained this purpose best when he said:

> The aim is to create in the teacher an awareness of how his culture influences specifically what he does as a teacher and how his students' cultures influence what they do, and how to think about, observe, and analyze these influences.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Two years ago we made a presentation on multicultural education to peers at a Kellogg Institute for Developmental Education. Believing strongly in the philosophy of cultural pluralism, Hunter Boylan, Director of the Institute, enthusiastically supported the presentation. Later, he encouraged Neal Simpson and me to continue exploring our concerns and to share our findings in literary form. Likewise, the positive reception, critical questions, and intense interest of our peers confirmed further a need to address problems of cultural conflict in higher education. It is to Hunter and the Kellogg Gang of 1983 that we owe our deepest gratitude. This research report is dedicated to them.

This report materialized for public benefit because the National Association for Developmental Education (NADE) felt the topic important enough to fund its publication. We are deeply indebted to the Association for this opportunity. Special thanks are extended to Anita McDonald, President of NADE when the decision was made to sponsor the project. She believed it a worthwhile endeavor, trusted in our ability to produce and gave unlimited guidance and support to ensure a quality product.

During the project many people were relied heavily upon for their help. They assisted with the analysis of data, provided clerical support, reviewed and critiqued several dra *s of the report, boosted morale and listened patiently to problems. In particular a great deal of indebtedness is owed to Harry Hild (who edited the manuscript), Darlene Thurston, Burnett Joiner, Selena McLaughlin, Doris Jacobs, Nancy Rabianski Carriuolo, and again Hunter Boylan.

A PRELIMINARY LOOK AT THE CULTURE-CONFLICT PROBLEM

I. What We Think We Know

Cultural themes sometimes appear as folk sayings, mottos, proverbs, or recurrent expressions (Spardley, 1979, p. 185). In related literature, however, cultural conflict often surfaces as a theme in the testimonies of disaffected student populations. This is acceptable. It is worth emphasizing, however, that to view some aspects of these themes as anything other than the jaundiced symptomatic forms they are is dysfunctional to present purposes. But not to take them into account here is to avoid reality.

With this caveat in mind, it is instructive to review some of the known symptoms of culture-conflict. Willie and McCord (1972) found that lack of trust existed between faculty and students, and that minority students felt the attention they received from some institutions was inadequate because it omitted relevant curriculum and ignored their social adjustment needs. Gibbs (1973) discovered incongruitities between the expectations of college faculty and students. Boyd (1974) advised that minority students in his research perceived their instructors as viewing them as dishonest and incompetent; ignoring them; being accessible only to majority students; and questioning the validity of minority students' work when it is above quality. Gibb (1975) declared that minority students on majority campuses experience an identity crisis. Finally, Green and McNamara (1978), reporting on minority graduate students, asserted that the students they interviewed "experience intense pressure to assimilate and to manifest behaviors valued by program faculty members." They also noted that the academic and professional socialization process, based on majority values, forces the minority student to engage in "game-playing" behavior suggestive of successful socialization.

There are, of course, two sides to every story. Penetration of the problem from the perspective of educators has not yet happened (Austin, 1976). Educators also have cross-cultural concerns as illustrated by these comments:

> I have a personal awareness of differences that makes me fear my own ability to deal with the differences without prejudicing the quality of the interation.

I tend to over-reward culturally different students, thus, making myself uncomfortable fighting the feeling that I really don't think they can make it without special privileges or help from me.

I have become resentful when culturally different students distrust my motives.

Rarely do research findings include the perceptions, attitudes and behaviors that educators in higher education have toward students who are different, and too infrequently do they compare the perceptions that students and faculty have of culture-conflict. The limited number of studies on the cross-cultural problem and needs of educators mostly represent the efforts of anthropologists to better understand the cultural dynamics of recently integrated elementary and secondary school settings (Leacock, 1969; Rosenfeld, 1971; Rist, 1973; Ogbu, 1974; Austin, 1976).

Accepting cross-cultural conflicts as only the problem of culturally-different students seriously diminishes our capacity and chances to understand the problem fully. It disallows making explicit the covert issues in cultural exchanges. Dolce (1973) pointed out that allowing such issues to remain submerged serves to advance the cause of those who do not share the values of cultural pluralism. More importantly, however, failure to look simultaneously at students and faculty as key variables obscures viable alternative strategies for resolving obvious incongruities between cultural ideals and realities.

The Cultural Baggage of Teachers

Hilliard (1974) identified some of the implicit cultural dimensions of educators as personality, values, social background, self-concepts, motivations, fears, courage, comfort, personal deficits, loneliness, and feelings of power or powerlessness. These implicit dimensions together with explicit characteristics such as age, sex, class, race, and physical handicaps represent much of the cultural baggage that educators, like students, must manage in learning situations.

How does this cultural baggage influence the behavior of educators and their relationships with students? Spindler (1963) and Landes (1976) suggested that one's culture (past and present lifeways) is the pivotal point of behavioral reference. Skinner (1971) asserted that:

> The culture constructs special contingencies to promote thinking. It teaches a person to make fine discriminations by making differential reinforcement more precise. It teaches techniques to use in solving problems. It provides rules that make it unnecessary to expose a person to the contingencies from which the rules derive, and it provides rules for finding rules. (p. 71)

In short, culture is the ultimate source of the rules that guide educators consciously and unconsciously in the orchestration of education: to design and deliver instruction and support services, set role expectations for self and students, value the worth of students' contributions, and interpret the behavior of students. Consider this example. If the cultural background of an educator dictates emotional constraint lest one lose control of that situation, all student behavior that this educator defines as emotional outbursts will be unacceptable to him or her. The educator will then search for ways to eliminate subsequent demonstrations of such outbursts.

According to Hollins (1983), Kochman confirms that Black Americans in particular value the spontaneous expression of emotion in most situations while White Americans practice emotional restraint, are inhibited, and experience fear or loss of control in situations where intense emotions are expressed. Hollins also suggests that Black Americans interpret White Americans' lack of emotional involvement as an indicator of insincerity. Barnlund (1969) gives additional support to this notion. He suggests that lack of trust among racial groups has caused interracial communicators to reject at face value verbal communication and to concentrate on nonverbal cues for real meaning. The work of Hollins and Barnlund points to possible reasons some minority students on majority campuses, as reported earlier, feel alienated, isolated, and ignored by their instructors.

With reference to the example of rule-based behavior above, it is conceivable that neither the culturally different student nor the educator is responsible for such human incompatibilities. Rather, both could be victims of their cultural backgrounds: the educator following a rule of emotional constraint while interacting with students applying the rule of emotional involvement--resulting in students perceiving that the educator feels insecure.

Culture influences the behavior of educators in other move subtle ways. Manifestations of such influence are observable in the respect given, power shared, rewards and punishments handed out and status assigned to students. The anthropological work of Landes (1976) reinforces this point. She involved a group of teachers in a study of their family lifeways over three generations. Her rationale was that teachers often are disturbed and threatened by strange people or minorities who have significantly different behavioral standards and cultural backgrounds from their own. Landes expected that as a result of exploring family history, the teachers would understand their own family pride and cultural systems better, and be more sensitive to their minority students' similar attachments and needs. Excerpts from several of the teachers follow:

(1)

Meeting and living with people of different racial groups impressed and depressed me (Austrian immigrant) in equal measure. I never met a Negro until I was eighteen and never saw an Oriental until I was twenty years old. I was deeply impressed that, according to the Constitution, we were equal in sharing the democratic way. (p. 403)

(2)

I (missionary teacher) think our family's first tenet is that anyone with ordinary powers can succeed in almost any work if he is willing to struggle. Mother often said, "You can do anything you want to badly enough." We expected to study, help ourselves financially, and not feel particularly sorry for ourselves. (p. 409)

(3)

Few of the darker races came to Utah in the early days, but there developed an intolerance of them despite the church preachment that "All men are brothers in the sight of God."...With this background it is particularly difficult for me (high school teacher) to accept Negroes as equals. Personal analysis has helped me to realize how ridiculous the attitude is yet I fear mine is an intellectual rather than an emotional tolerance. (p. 406)

Although from different cultural perspectives, each teacher clearly communicated biased views on egalitarianism. The conclusion is that all three teachers would find it difficult to be objective in their interactions with culturally different students when matters such as respect, shared power, rewards, punishment, and status were involved. There is every reason to believe that educators in higher education with similar backgrounds and feelings exist today.

Culture cannot be separated from education because it is the filter through which learners process educators, instruction, and subject matter (Hall, 1977), but the reverse is also true. Culture influences the behavior of educators. Consequently, institutions of higher education can ill afford to ignore cultural differences. Researchers must begin to investigate cross-cultural conflict in higher education from a holistic perspective (Gage, 1963; Withall and Lewis, 1971; and Yee, 1971), one that redistributes the burden of the problem equitably and fairly to all constituencies having direct impact upon the educational process—students, instructors, and administrators. To do otherwise represents a "blame-the-victim approach," which holds only students accountable for change and progress.

Toward Expanding Our Vision

> Cross-cultural research is like virtue—everybody is in favor of it, but there are widely differing views of what it is and ought to be.
> N. Frijda and G. Jahoda

Cross-cultural conflict in higher education is acknowledged by almost everyone as a problem for which hardly anyone has a viable solution. The reasons for this dilemma are probably many. One thesis, however, is that failure to solve the problem is as much a result of crippling external forces on problem solving methods as it is the internal complexities of the conflict. Two very fundamental points are at the core of this argument. First, there is little agreement on a definition of the problem. When we say cross-cultural conflict, what are we really talking about? Thus, the key elements and parameters of the problem are largely unknown. Second, but related to the first point, faulty conceptualization of the problem is producing answers to questions which either have answers already or which have not been asked. Alternative solutions to the real problem are envisioned with more precise research questions and reality-based research frameworks. The Cross-Cultural Project in Higher Education, committed to unraveling the culture-conflict problem,

seized the opportunity to take its argument one step further: testing it within the realities and contextual complexities of the field.

Research tasks are more likely to be achieved when reduced to manageable clusters of activities. Demystifying culture-conflict in higher education was considered no exception to this rule. Hence the project planned for and designed a two-phase study: the first for exploring and fine tuning investigative tools and procedures, and the second for a formal collection of data and subsequent development of much needed theories. The current report is based upon the preliminary findings from Phase One only.

The philosophical and theoretical underpinnings provided earlier guided the activities of Phase One. The primary objective was to design and field test a data-gathering instrument that was sensitive to objective data-quantitative facts, as well as the perceptions, attitudes, and feelings of people who were intimate with the culture-conflict problem. A secondary objective of Phase One was to delimit the real issues of culture-conflict, especially as these issues affected the academic achievement of developmental learners in higher education.

Who Knows Better Than the Victims?

Technically, developmental learners may be defined as underprepared adults who for various reasons: (a) perform poorly or unevenly on standardized achievement tests: (b) need preparatory or review work in basic skills subjects before pursuing regular degree programs; (c) undertake enriching experiences to improve average and below-average academic performance; (d) require noninstructional support that leads to self-awareness, academic responsibility, and career planning; and/or (e) need remediation in areas where academic growth fails to occur at an acceptable rate. These learners need assistance in achieving growth in one or more academic or social-emotional areas. The might have such needs as entrants, or their needs may emerge throughout their academic careers.

Of critical concern to us was the fact that developmental learners have never been adequately defined and understood from a sociocultural and affective point of view. Culturally diverse students comprise a significant portion of the developmental learner population in higher education. They represent varying sociocultural, ethnic, economic, and academic backgrounds. That clues to the

academic progress of these culturally diverse students may very well be within the sociological and affective realm remains largely unexplored. As previously metioned, interest in the cross-cultural conflict problem also originated with the expressed concerns of involved groups of developmental educators. If these educators are to realize a more effective role in the social and academic revolution of higher education, support from the research community is required. All things considered, past experiences and reviews of past studies contribute only a superficial diagnosis of the problem and a set of working assumptions. The value of anticipated findings from this first phase of the project was that they would enable us to confirm, refute, or expand upon our original assumptions.

To fulfill the intent of Phase One, we conducted a pilot investigation of the explicit and implicit culture-bound behaviors perceived as influencing conflicts between educators and culturally diverse students in higher education. We elicited information from participants in 73 selected institutions. Our criteria included size, geographical location, and governance structure. While we made no attempt to obtain a random sample, statistical or otherwise, we did secure a broad sample of our target population. By and large the participants from these institutions were persons who, as educators or students, were intensely involved in developmental education, improving the academic progress of underprepared adults.

The two and four year universities and colleges used were selected from the 1984 Conference Directories of the National Association for Developmental Education, New York College Learning Skills Association and the Kellogg Institute for Developmental Education. Selected educators and students at public and private institutions in four geographical areas of the United States, representing 35 states and the District of Columbia, were used as sources of information.

Assumptions and Questions for Probing

Several assumptions supported the research design. The first asumption was that the multicultural make-up of most college and university campuses are beginning to or indeed do now reflect the make-up of American society; thus, cultural diversity is a reality that these institutions must become adept at accomodating. The second assumption was that institutions of higher education are only as effective at educating any student as their educators are emotionally and professionally successful. Given the challenge of cultural

diversity, effective education also depends upon the success of educators in demonstrating a knowledge of and respect for human differences while working with students. Austin (1975) suggested that educators are culturally illiterate and culturally blind. She noted further that culturally illiterate and blind educators, when confronted with cross-cultural experiences, exhibit all the classic symptoms of "culture shock", including confusion, anger, and despair. Therefore, educators in higher education are legitimate targets for cultural literacy training. Third, before educators can understand and help students, they must first understand themselves: their own cultural backgrounds, lifeways, and preferences (Leacock, 1973). Moreover, they must understand how their backgrounds affect their instructional behaviors and relations with students. The project's probing was specifically guided by the following questions:

1. What problems do students perceive most frequently in their interations with culturally diverse educators?

2. What problems do educators perceive most frequently in their work with culturally diverse students?

3. To what extent are the problems jointly perceived by students and educators culture-bound?

4. Can generic areas of cultural conflict be inferred from the perceptions that educators and students have of their problems?

5. What tentative underlying constructs, for use in Phase Two, can be inferred about the role of educators' culture-bound behavior in conflicts which occasion the educative process?

In order to elicit answers to these questions and new insights into the problem, participants were asked to respond in writing to the open-ended question: When you think about (an educator/a student) who is culturally different from you, what critical problems between you and that person come to mind? Provisions were made for three problem descriptions. A structured second page asked for demographic data about the participants. All participants were given the following definitions:

Culturally Different - means differences in age (one or more generations), sex, race, physical handicaps (including ugliness), or any combination of the above.

Critical Problem - means any discomfort (conflict) you feel, observe or experience in learning situations between you and the culturally different person.

Educator - means anyone in the role of instructor, advisor, counselor, tutor, administrator, or learning center (lab) educator.

The 516 problem descriptions which were collected from 314 students and the 307 descriptions collected from 103 educators have proven to be richer than ever expected, given our modest goal for Phase One. We gained many ideas, clarity of purpose, new paths for future inquiry, and much more. No claims are made, however, that our methods represent a bonafide, scientific research study in the traditional sense. Nor is the intent to suggest that we conducted a definitive analysis of the culture-conflict problem in higher education. Rather, what we did and make known on subsequent pages is a beginning.

DIMENSIONS OF THE CULTURE-CONFLICT PROBLEM

II. Emerging Patterns

Our investigative philosophy was simple: if you want to know what bothers a group of people, ask them. We did just that and were overwhelmed by the direct and honest answers we received. Through critical analyses of many handwritten anecdotes, we listened to what they said. Comments from students and educators were first analyzed to determine general conflict themes and the scope of issues as reported by both groups. These situations of conflict were coded and categorized according to twelve major and numerous minor themes of Henry's Cross-Cultural Outline of Education (1976). This outline is a methodological tool for maximizing observations of cultural phenomena in the educational process. According to Henry, the outline delineates the formal, conscious aspects of education as a social process whereby the educator acts upon the learner. For the project the outline was modified to sort the comments educators and students made about each other's observed or inferred culture-bound behaviors. Modifications of the outline involved neutralizing the language and expanding topics to include areas Henry omitted, but which obviously were relevant to the conflict problem.

After initial sorting of the data, 16 graduate students in the course "Advanced Studies of Developmental Learners" at Grambling State University cross-validated the categories. Copies of participants' comments and Henry's outline were distributed to several small groups of these students for them to synthesize, discuss, and approve, or recategorize responses. Finally, frequency measures of the data were taken.

Generally, the early indications are that both students and educators consider personality differences as the leading cause of cross-cultural conflict. They also suggested that each conflict occurs a majority of the time in regular classroom situations with people who differ significantly first in racial background, second in sex, and third in age. Lack of communication or language facility was also viewed as a problematic area.

In conclusion, it appears that generic categories or patterns of factors which frequently lead to conflict may be inferred from the clusters of problems reported by participants. For ease of understanding and convenience, findings are reported in several ways. First, they are objectively presented in categorical form as fashioned

by Henry's Outline. A synthesis and interpretation of significant findings follows. After examining some implications of the findings for the culture-conflict problem, suggestions for the future are shared.

Throughout the report supportive quotes from the responses of participants are offered. The diversity of responses, the candidness of participants, and the poignant conditions of culture-conflict hopefully will be made clearer through this direct approach. To maintain the integrity of the comments, quotes were edited only to correct spelling and obvious typographical errors.

PROBLEMS WHICH INVOLVE THE VALUES STUDENTS AND EDUCATORS FOCUS UPON IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

Differences in the values attached to moral rules, proper dress, equality of opportunity and treatment, personal integrity, fairness, individual flexibility, and tolerance were regarded by students as critical causes of conflict between themselves and culturally different educators. Several students explained the differences this way:

> I had a female instructor who frequently pounded her beliefs about the feminist movement in class. Number one, I felt very angry that she used class time to prove her point. I felt cheated because I was not receiving what I was supposed to get. I also felt helpless because I felt there was nothing that I could do about this.

> The nursing instructors at (name deleted) believe that a nursing student should be single and without children. They stress the first day that they will not empathize with students having personal problems.

> I've found that much older educators have a very difficult time being patient with me if I don't understand the first time what seems so basic and simple to them.

Particularly disconcerting for students was the matter of equality. Many of them assessed as favorably biased the treatment educators of one sex gave to students of the same sex, regardless of race. They accused educators of giving students of the same race as themselves

warmer responses to questions, higher grades, and more chances to make forgiveable mistakes. Available literature repeatedly confirms the existence of these perceptions.

On more than a few occasions culturally diverse students expressed concerns about the perceived poor dress, health habits, inflexibility, and intolerance of some educators as these students' comments show:

> This instructor was a total slob—unorganized and very poorly dressed. He took weeks to return exams, and when in his office, could not find material that he had prepared for the class. He wore summer clothes in the midst of winter and opened the windows—the whole class had to wear mittens.

> This teacher was young. Her method of teaching was alright for an extremely smart student, but the majority of the class could not relate to what she was talking about because she did not give her students enough time to understand. When she was asked to explain the information, she replied that she was not going over it because she was already behind her schedule.

Students' observations of dress and health habits transcended race, sex, and age. On the matter of dress they seemed most concerned about the appropriateness and neatness of clothing.

Overwhelmingly students questioned the quality of their instructor models and the academic scripts they attempted to share. For example, one student described how an obese physical education instructor lectured to average weight female students about proper exercise and care of the body, then required students to complete physical education exercises she was too heavy to perform herself. Similar incidences about cleanliness, timeliness, organization, and instructional preparation were also reported. Inflexibility, intolerance, and the imposition of undesirable moral rules on students were attributed mostly to those educators viewed as belonging to a different generation. Students described educators as extremely enthnocentric in their approaches to problem solving and most intolerant of students' divergent ideas and querulous behaviors.

Educators, on the other hand, dwelled upon the success habits, effort, responsibility, deference, independence, and toughness of culturally diverse students. From their standpoint, many of the students were deficient in these areas. As the quote below reveals, this conclusion was as much a product of rumor as of experience, with rumor stimulating unwarranted anticipation of problems:

> My first concern is attitude. Will the student exhibit belligerent behaviors? Will he accept the norms for performance in the class or will he refuse to work?
>
> I am impatient with those students who lack goals, are indecisive, and lack assertiveness.

While some educators pondered the problem behaviors of students, others looked for solutions in their own behavior. They accepted responsibility for helping students to overcome such deficiencies, but admitted to not having the necessary skills. Typical of the responses made by these educators is the following quote:

> I am thinking of a Black male, 20 years old. When I work with him I consistently wonder what I can do or say to help him trust me. I wonder what I can do to help him develop the committment to routine and the self-discipline necessary to his success in college.

Other educators said they attempted to help culturally different students, but their efforts, because students either distrusted or misread them, led to increased conflict. And still other educators theorized that they probably failed to give enough attention to value conflicts with culturally diverse students because they were trying to remain objective and simply cover required coursework on schedule.

PROBLEMS RELATED TO HOW EDUCATORS PARTICIPATE

Attitudes and behaviors of educators in cross-cultural learning situations are the dominant themes of this category. Educators were generally aware of the culturally diverse students' distrust of their motives. That students often interpreted their efforts to help as prejudiced behavior also seemed to be common knowledge. Mixed emotions encompassing fear, rejection, frustration, insecurity,

anxiety, and resentment permeated educators' expressions of awareness. They speculated that in consequence these feelings caused them to behave in ways which ultimately led to conflict. They found themselves being overly polite, protective, patronizing and overrewarding, extending too mucn aid, and pushing students to challenge themselves. Students reacted negatively to all of them. Such practices also caused or were predicted to cause acute problems for target students with other students, both target and non-target. Two educators wrote:

> I am concerned about helping the person so much that the rest of the class feels they are being treated unfairly. Also, I experience frustration with what I perceive as the judgmental way in which the student approaches others in the class. As a result, I have difficulty maintaining objectivity and/or empathy towards her.
>
> Acceptance by others (of culturally different students) worries me. I worry about his/her fiting in. Are we too protective? I believe we do need to allow them to fight their own battles.

Obviously educators were concerned about both implicit and explicit culture-bound factors, but the potential impact of these factors on affective outcomes seems to dominate their thinking.

The situation was not much different for students. They did, however, devote substantial effort to evaluating the overt behaviors and perceived attitudes of culturally different educators. Their own cultural backgrounds and interpretations of verbal and nonverbal behavior served as standards of measurement. In no uncertain terms they expressed resentment toward the following behaviors of educators: closemindedness to creative input from students during instruction and domineering approaches to teaching; hostile, ridiculing, sarcastic, and belittling responses to students' questions; rejection of students' spontaneous expressions; inability to handle personal anxiety, hostility, and discomfort during student-educator exchanges; disregard for students' self-images as evidenced by embarrassing put-downs and demonstrations of a lack of trust in students' abilities; and discontinuities in how male and female students are treated.

PROBLEMS IN COMMUNICATION BETWEEN STUDENTS AND EDUCATORS

The term communication serves as an umbrella for a variety of problems related to how information, ideas, and feelings are shared, decoded, and acted upon by educators and students. Observed problems in communication range from language facility, speech-hearing handicaps, and accents to vocabulary levels, speaking styles, nonverbal messages, dialect, and semantics.

Students saw educators' age differences, elevated vocabulary levels, failure to listen to them, and some educator's broken-English speech patterns as the biggest barriers to real communication between educators and themselves. Educators complained about the language proficiency of ESL students, the dialect of Black students, and the perceived inadequate communication background of all culturally diverse students. There was general agreement that although these inadequacies were rooted in student's socio-cultural histories and personality difficulties, they tended to complicate instruction and learning.

Problems in communication beyond the ability to hear, speak, and understand were pointed out by students and educators. Culture-bound rules which deny students the freedom to admit when they do not understand, designate certain non-verbal behaviors as violations of etiquette, and define as insults the repeated requests of speakers to restate or clarity messages were the common disturbing force.

Examples of Students' Comments:

> He gives me the feeling that he thinks he's better than me. When I ask a question he makes me feel incompetent. He makes me feel that I should know the answer. I know this by the looks he gives me. And another thing, he is always comparing his school days to ours, and it makes me feel angry. I think it is a verbal putdown.
>
> There is this one educator who has a lack of personal communication, such as: not speaking to the students as he walks into the classroom, and answering only questions pertaining to the subject when asked by students. This educator constantly

gives too many examples and constantly jumps off the subject. He also seems to be prejudiced and that makes it hard for us students. He could at least smile sometimes and say 'hello' when walking into a classroom. It's not our fault we got stuck with him, or that his is the only job that he could get at the time.

Examples of Educators' Comments

Language beyond surface conversation seems to require a special effort on the part of the teacher. However, my interest in people of different cultures helps me to bridge the gap.

I wonder if by my body language I may somehow convey unmeant messages. For example, one of my Chinese students told me that it is extremely discourteous to blow one's nose in public in China. Yet Iowa's winters lead many Americans to violate this Chinese etiquette time after time.

One problem is communication, but not just the ability to hear, understand, and speak English. Some students from different cultures answer questions with a positive answer just to be polite or out of respect. They do not want to tell you that statements are unclear or that they are experiencing difficulty in your class.

As a result of communicative conflicts, interpersonal relations and learning were inhibited greatly. It seems, comparatively speaking, that the less people speak, the more their values, attitudes, and behaviors say.

PROBLEMS RELATED TO WHO EDUCATES AND WHO LEARNS

Elderly students seem to have a need for educators to sit and talk with them for lengthy periods of time and to give them constant attention. One gentleman (74 years old) wants me, as

> opposed to the tutor, to tutor him in every subject. He sometimes becomes irritable when I will not write papers for him and when I will not run errands around the school for him.
>
> I have a problem respecting obese students. I tend to think they do not respect themselves, though I realize there may be many reasons for obesity.
>
> The physically handicapped or ESL students are too dependent upon educators and certain educators at that. Once rapport has been established, these students hesitate to work with anyone else and, in some cases, refuse to do so whenever possible.
>
> I am an attractive female in my mid-fourties. My most critical problem is with the older male student who returns to school after many years in the work force. His macho image of himself seems to interfere with his willingness to admit needing my help.

This category illuminates three major problem areas: age differences, physical handicaps, and social distance between educators and students. Some educators felt that students who were older than themselves demonstrated: poor or slow adjustment to the college setting, unusual dependence upon them for extra help, a desire for special respect since they were older, and much talent in using their broad backrounds and experiences to make educators feel insecure. Conversely, some students perceived educators their age or younger as unqualified. Yet they saw educators two or more generations older than themselves as inflexible in their ideas and morals and impatient with students who asked questions or disagreed with them. To dramatize students' disenchantment with certain educators much older than themselves and to further explicate the values they attach to age are these quotes:

> The only problem I worry about is if the person is old. It is kind of hard for me to adjust to the way he or she instructs me because sometimes their way of doing things is the old way of doing things. Young instructors are new

> and fresh, yet I still feel uncomfortable with them because they are the persons who may not understand just what it takes to get things going. It's kind of like maybe they're somehow teaching themselves to understand what they should already understand.
>
> The person's age sometimes brings on a problem. Those who are elderly sometimes become very grouchy and don't know how to handle themselves around a rowdy class. They also get nervous and tense.
>
> I have encountered older instructors who have used the same methods and refuse to allow change, modification, or alternatives to their ideas.

Social distance between educators and students was measured differently by both groups. Students compared their intellectual capacity to the perceived intellectual capacity of educators with whom they interacted. There was general agreement that educators intellectually "outshined" them, but were unfair in "flaunting" their knowledge when interacting with them. They felt that educators talked at levels far above students' ability to understand, belittled students who failed to grasp information as quickly as expected, and resorted to instructional "black balling" of students who questioned them.

The definition of social distance as inferred from educators' comments highlighted differences in economic status, social and cultural background, and religious beliefs. Age level, ethnicity, and value systems also surfaced rather frequently as distinguishing characteristics of perceived distance. One educator summed up the situation this way:

> I feel mildly uncomfortable with Oriental students in that usually there is a language barrier. Part of the problem could be my feelings of inadequacy in helping them. My experience has been that they are highly motivated and hard working students for the most part and I admire their diligence. I have only a cursory understanding of their culture,

> body language, and customs and I suppose that is why I don't feel as competent in helping them learn as I do with Native American students or Spanish speaking students.

Educators and students expressed similar feelings about the physical intactness (free of physical handicaps) and personal autonomy of people. Being in the presence of or working with handicapped people mainly evoked sympathy and curiosity from students:

> Physically handicapped educators cause me not to concentrate on what is being said. I can only think about the handicap, or how long they have been educators.

In addition to these feelings, educators expressed nervousness and sometimes helplessness:

> A physically handicapped person makes me nervous. I do not know how to adjust around him or her in a class.

Who educates and who learns in terms of age, handicaps, and social distance had impact not only on the level of cross-cultural conflict felt internally, but also on the learning behavior and academic progress of students. It can only be concluded that these factors also had impact on the complexity of work and the success of educators.

PROBLEMS RELATED TO HOW STUDENTS PARTICIPATE IN THE EDUCATION PROCESS

Culture-conflict was further nurtured by culturally diverse students who participated in the education process feeling insecure about themselves. Insecurities were revealed in a variety of ways. Many of the insecurities and consequential behaviors of students surfaced in students' own accounts of how educators either failed to listen, or failed to respond positively to them. They explained with unusual candor reactions such as defensiveness, withdrawal, and "tuning out" educators. Conjointly, students expressed desire to participate in the education process by: expressing themselves without fearing put-downs from educators; pursuing an education without being prejudged and sterotyped according to myths about their cultural background and intellectual capacities; disagreeing with and questioning educators; and being given fair opportunities to demonstrate their abilities.

Accounts of students' behavior from educators, however, included disrespect for authority, lack of assertiveness, lack of motivation, belligerence, and defiance of system norms and rules. Two points are in order. First, educators may, in part, have actually caused the problematic behaviors they tended to label as "lack of motivation." And second, students' admitted withdrawal and "tuning out" behaviors are consistent with educators' characterizations of them as non-assertive.

Learning experiences ideally may be clustered into initiatory, developmental, and culminating activities. Thus, from all indications students seemed most concerned about actively participating (giving input) in developmental learning experiences. Included here are actual instruction, counseling, tutoring, and the like. In contrast, educators focused heavily upon perceived student behaviors at a more fundamental level: their entry behavior in certain learning experiences and their overall behavior in the general educational process. That is, many culturally diverse students were viewed by educators as having something other than education as a top priority, poorly developed and unrealistic goals for themselves, inadequate self-discipline for study, and unreal self-perceptions about their needs for skill development. Additionally, some educators used the erratic attendance patterns of these students as a basis for saying they were uninterested in personal achievement.

A Note About Ethnicity and Race

Initial assessments of the conflict themes and demographic data on participants heightened curiosity about the degree to which conflict incidences occured between and among particular subcultural groups. With a more intense look it became apparent that although neither race nor ethnicity was the number one cause of culture-conflict, herein were additional clues to advancing the predictability of conflict. Our very early and tentative discoveries showed that:

- Black male and female students had a higher incidence of conflict with White male and female educators than with any other group.
- White male and female students had a higher incidence of conflict with White male and female educators.
- Hispanic male students had a higher incidence of conflict with White and Hispanic male educators.

- Hispanic females had the highest incidence of conflict with Black female educators, but conflicted equally with Hispanic male and Hispanic female educators.

- Black male instructors reported a higher incidence of conflict with Black male and Hispanic female students than with any other group.

- Black female instructors experienced conflict with Black males, Black females, White males, White females, and Hispanic female students to just about the same degree.

- White female instructors reported the highest degree of conflict incidences with Black male and female students.

In sum, cross-cultural conflict appeared to occur most frequently between and within Black and White subcultural groups. Since we did not involve a large number of Hispanic and other ethnic groups of students and educators, these discoveries must be cautiously considered. Furthermore, there is a need to make public several possible explanations for the discoveries which resulted from constant manipulation of the data. Perhaps they will strengthen any forthcoming considerations.

In retrospect, we must be mindful that the comments and criticisms made by students and educators were tempered greatly by the ethnic makeup of the populations at their institutions. For example, predominately White or Black institutions in rural areas may not have had as much cultural and ethnic diversity as institutions in more cosmopolitan areas. As mentioned previously, sex and age loomed large as potential factors of conflict. Analyses to determine exactly how age affected conflict from an ethnic or racial standpoint were not made. Also, the instrument itself possibly limited information gathered on other than dominant cultural groups. Data gathering procedures were different in Parts One and Two of the instrument. Whereas Part One was unstructured and asked for open-end responses, Part Two required responses selected from among structured options. Finally, students and educators were not restricted in the number of options they could select, so the measure used was the frequency of times an option was selected rather than the number of individuals who selected an option. Thus, it is possible that different circumstances would have yielded a completely different set of discoveries.

DISMANTLING THE CULTURE-CONFLICT PROBLEM

III. Discussion and Implications

A common belief about the training of educators is that once they earn a degree, they are prepared to teach all students in the areas or at the levels for which they were trained—regardless of the students' backgrounds. Contemporary achievement data for culturally diverse students in higher education, historical background, and the project's findings render this belief a falsehood. It is precisely the reverse that seems to be the case. Shedding immediate light on the matter are the five categories of problems discussed in the previous section. They show a lack of preparation on the parts of both students and educators for accommodating human differences. Categorical themes included differences in personal values, communication, socio-cultural identities, and academic participatory styles. Sex, age, physical capacity, and ethnicity influenced greatly the definitions of each category and the type and intensity of conflict resulting. The conflicts were generally assessed as having devastating impact upon the total educative process. Frustration, resentment, distrust, fear, and anger hardly facilitate teaching or learning.

Although these categories were previously presented as discrete matters, they were not separate conditions. There was considerable interrelatedness among behaviors, feelings, attitudes, and perceptions. In attempting to dismantle or dissect the problem into smaller parts to increase understanding, one thing became very clear. Probable solutions to cross-cultural conflict in higher education are not limited to, but should necessarily include, seeking to bring about improvements in the following areas: the cognitive/affective needs of learners and educators, culturally-diverse learners and learning behavior, higher education learning environments, instruction in higher education, and institutional approaches and practices.

Cognitive/Affective Needs of Learners and Educators

What do we know? Current information tells us that the cognitive/affective needs of all students are interrelated, that each must support the other. Like children, adult cognitive and affective development progresses in reciprocal relationship through stages as defined, for example, by Cross (1976) and Knowles (1980). It seems logical then to conclude that educators must provide that integration. It is also logical and desirable that educators in higher

education provide for the interrelatedness of these two factors in the education of culturally diverse students. Such students must be supported in developing their own cognitive structures through interations with faculty, with each other, and with their physical environment if they are to acquire adequate thinking and social skills for coping with new knowledge and a changing society.

Culturally diverse learners in developmental education programs seem to have unusually acute needs for instructional approaches characterized by integrated cognitive and affective strategies. But one inference from their anecdotes is that interventions for them must first address the affective domain. Educators who go against the grain and ignore this area are likely to meet with more conflict than those who deal with it up front.

While culturally diverse students must learn to adjust to the culture of academic enironments and the subcultures within, so must these environments change to accomodate the non-traditional students. Included as targets here are the motivations, fears, feelings of power and powerlessness, and behaviors of educators. Fleming (1981), Nieves (1978), Austin (1976), Boyd (1974), and McDaniel and McKee (1971) validate the notion that adjusting to students with diverse backgrounds is especially difficult for educators. More recent work by Tippeconnic (1983), Scollon (1981), and Jenkins (1983) support the project's preliminary observation that the adjustment problem for educators is widespread.

Most responses to the needs of educators have consisted largely of scattered, incoherent, retooling activities such as workshops and conferences. Retooling of this type seldom reflects serious consideration for the interrelatedness of the cognitive/affective variables which undergird educators' interactions with students from diverse backgrounds. Usually these areas are dealt with separately. Additionally, many retooling activities may be unsuccessful because they are supported by an inadequate knowledge base consisting solely of the culture-bound values, value systems, and communication skills of educators. If true, then this report is a beginning step toward closing this gap in knowledge.

Values: A Hidden Agenda

Personal values are the private property of individuals. They are perhaps the most treasured property ever acquired. Allport (1958) tells us that people live by and for their values. Yet, he continues, seldom do people think about them or weigh them; they feel, affirm

and defend them (p.24). Perhaps this is because values are also invisible abstractions of the mind. Sometimes they are so complex that even their possessor finds them too difficult to understand or explain. Educators and students are not exceptions to this trend.

Manifestations of personal values are the best indicators of their existence and of how a particular set of values might be defined. From all indications, manifestations of values are both overt and covert in nature. Overt value indicators for the project were the observations students and educators made of each other's behaviors. Covert value indicators were those inferred from the stated biases and preferences of students and educators. An obvious message from covert indicators was that both groups of actors had definite role expectations for each other (which were never shared), held ethnocentric perceptions of life, and depended upon a variety of incompatible coping strategies to see them through the educational process—all of which seemed inextricably interwoven.

That students and educators are guided in their behaviors, feelings, attitudes, and perceptions of other people by values hidden from these people and often from themselves is neither suprising nor profound. There is evidence to support, however, that these unknown values overwhelmingly control interactions between culturally diverse students and educators. For instance, culturally diverse students in the project indicated that they valued treatment from educators that demonstrated tolerance for freedom of expression, but perceived that educators were intolerant of the same. Educators, on the other hand, said they wanted these students to speak up, to be more assertive, but in fact went on to describe such behavior when it did occur as arrogant and disrespectful.

Could it be that these educators were from cultural backgrounds which defined assertive behavior for various cultural groups differently? Or were they from backgrounds which prevented them from seeing the difference between their perceived and real values, or between their perceived values and behavior? Conclusive answers to these questions are unavailable to us at this time; however, some beliefs about the values issue in general are presented as follows for consideration.

Conflicts resulting from value differences between educators and culturally diverse students:

- Will increase or decrease in proportion to the adjustments these individuals make in the interpretive schemes they apply to the overt value indicators of others.

- Will increase or decrease in proportion to the discontinuity between these individuals' personal values and interpretations of value-laden behavior by others; personal values and willingness to alter cultural stereotypes of others; or personal values and willingness to alter personal values.

- Will increase or decrease in proportion to the extent that educators, prior to attempting to build relationships with students, anticipate and predict students' reactions to their personal values, then implement preventative measures to reduce potential conflict.

- Will increase or decrease in proportion to the extent that the personal values, attitudes, and beliefs of these individuals are known to self, made public to others, and adjusted toward a point of mutual agreement.

- Will increase or decrease in proportion to the extent that these individuals are able to adjust their ideal values to levels which are perceived as potentially attainable, personally rewarding, and increasing their acceptance by others.

In essence, adjustments in the value systems of educators and students must be made if values conflicts are to be minimized and academic achievement increased. The question is how to make them. The intent here is not to imply that individuals are expected to lower their values, dispense with values, or wholly adopt the values of others. The suggestion is that value systems should be character-conditioned to tolerate a multiplicity of diverse value systems. And since educators have a leadership role in the educational process, it is imperative that they start the adjustment process with themselves. In this way, they can acquire an experiential base for working with all students, regardless of their backgrounds.

When Educators Talk

Communication is a bridge between people. It must be traversed carefully lest the voyager plunge over the railing never to reach the other side. Problems in communication are to be expected in any type of organizational system. But in observed cross-cultural situations, communicative bridges between educators and students are acutely shaky structures. The intensity of the problem and the not-so-common criticisms from students add a certain uniqueness to the matter. Identified culture-bound factors of communication which seem to get lost when educators attempt to translate the authority figure or leadership concept into practice are reflected in the observations summarized below.

1. The need of culturally diverse students for clearly articulated messages equals and in some instances surpasses those of educators.

To illustrate, here is an excerpt from a student's comment about an educator who spoke in broken English. He said:

> When he used certain math terms such as reciprocal, commulative, and associative, I had to try and decipher what he said and missed part of the lecture that may have been important.

Could it be that the language problems of some educators are more of a handicap to students than their own language disabilities?

2. For the culturally diverse student there is more to talking than saying words.

In essence, words are not imbued with the power to pick up ideas from senders of messages and carry them over to the minds of message receivers. Ideas are mutually understood only to the extent message senders and receivers are functioning on common thought and language. As one student explained:

> The educator might be an articulate speaker who is knowledgeable about his subject matter. But who knows, when you aren't able to translate what he is saying into English.

Although students in the project seemed more concerned about the commonality of language, neither common ideas nor language appeared to be something that participants experienced very often.

3. What one says to the culturally diverse student is sometimes falsely perceived as in indicator of non-acceptance.

Consider the next pair of statements:

Student: I am Spanish, with a bit of Spanish-American background and accent. My English is not always at its best. She may be an instructor, but she does not have the right to pick on me when I ask a question. She pretends that she does not understand me—especially when my pronunciation is very clear.

Educator: I tend to feel self-conscious and tense when I have to ask the student to repeat himself. I am afraid that I won't be able to decipher the words and/or phrases. In this situation the student usually seems annoyed at my ignorance and can't seem to understand why I am having difficulty.

These two comments were not even from people at the same institution. Nevertheless, by comparing them, we see that students do indeed mistrust educators and interpret their words as non-cceptance.

4. How one speaks to the culturally diverse student is sometimes falsely perceived as how one compares oneself to the student.

Students tended to believe that educators should know more than they know. They resented, however, communicative styles which suggested to them that educators considered themselves the better human beings. Phrases used by students to describe this type of attitude included: "looks down upon me," "acts as though I am not a person," "acts as if they got their education and we have to get ours," "talks down to students," "will not take the time to listen," and "acts so high-minded."

5. The communication system between culturally diverse students and educators is governed more by informal nonpublic, personal rules (norm) than by formal academic rules and professional strategies.

Unfortunately, the norms by which educators and students operate are highly individualistic and changeable phenomena, depending upon who is involved and the nature of the matter at hand. Participating students made negative assessments of educators who yelled at them, rejected students' input into the lesson, deviated excessively from lesson content, refused to answer students' questions, used terminology beyond students' comprehension level, frowned when students spoke, asked students to repeat themselves more than once, and talked as if they expected conflict. Two students reported that:

> Staff sometimes ask questions about racial problems that aren't even happening. It sometimes causes problems afterwards.

> It is a problem for me to hear instructors deliver the "I'm not afraid of you" speech daily. In other words, I begin to tune out those instructors who spend half of the class period trying to prove themselves.

Culturally Diverse Learners and Learning Behavior

> The main problem was a difference in cultural **expectations.** I expected the student to be interested and motivated in the subject area (Basic Math) for whatever personal reason had brought him to class. His attitude was one of defiance and "I dare you to teach me," and "I know this stuff, why am I in class?' He didn't know the stuff and further didn't know why he was in the class. He was almost constantly rude, obnoxious, and patronizing. He would not take tests prepared and would not use the Math Lab for help.

Culturally diverse postsecondary learners are individuals first and members of one or more subcultural groups second. Thus, they have both unique needs (financial, social, psychological and educational) and needs that are common to members of their

subcultural groups (sex, age, race, handicap). This nested characteristic of human diversity, because of the multiplicity of subcultural groups it generates, makes defining and understanding culturally diverse students a complex undertaking. Educators seem to approach the problem in a variety of ways. Several educators, for example, explained:

> I ignore the cultural differences of students and treat individuals as if they have a background and perspective on life similar to mine.
>
> I immediately anticipate a language barrier and I am surprised when the person speaks English fluently. Since I am fearful of unconsciously employing cultural sterotypes, I try to compensate by being very helpful and friendly.
>
> If a student's appearance is in order and the student has a good attitude about himself and others, I feel there will be no problem between us.
>
> I do not give enough attention to their cultural differences and their adjustment to our culture. I do realize they go through culture shock in addition to college shock.

Ignoring differences in learners was the most popular approach among all reporting educators. Anticipating problems with culturally diverse learners was second. Why these approaches? A good guess, though not exhaustive, is that may educators continue to be victimized by several forces: (1) cultural myths, (2) the assimilationist theory operating underground, (3) inadequate knowledge bases about other cultures, (4) deficient background experiences in interacting with culturally diverse others, (5) poor training or no training for working with diverse cultures, (6) fear of the unknown and loss of control, and (7) ethnocentric use of the concept "normal". Such forces act as cultural blinders which tend to prevent educators in higher education from seeing their clients, from defining and understanding their needs, and from setting realistic role expectations for students and themselves. This idea is supported and clarified further by Shade (1982). She stated that: "When skin color is not a consideration, social scientists are apparently prepared to concede that individuals or groups who are dissimilar in age, social

class, environment, sex, or other factors can legitimately differ in grades, scores on standardized tests, or other performance measures." Cross-cultural conflict is often the consequence of this blindness.

People have a tendency to send messages and behave on the basis of what they perceive. They perceive on the basis of their needs, which, in large measure, are determined by their background experiences and how they interact and communicate with their socio-cultural environments. What messages do educators send to culturally diverse students? Messages of disrespect for them as responsible, thinking adults polled the most votes. This and other types of messages received by students are best explained by them:

> Some instructors think that you try to get over on them. From then on they just don't trust you. If you have a bad reputation it follows you and the teacher only remembers that. If you want to prove yourself, it will be hard.
>
> In a case where there is a difference in generation (age), I feel that one should not be quick to judge a person. Too many young people are sterotyped as being foolish or rowdy when the older person doesn't even know them well.
>
> I am older than all my instructors. I don't like them to talk "down" to me. Sometimes when we are discussing a subject in class, I have lived through it. When the educator begins to behave in a way that makes me feel silly because of my experiences, I cope by thinking—Hey! It was my good fortune to have been born when I was.
>
> If you are culturally different by being a lower economic bracket as I am, the educator often does not understand why you think work is as important as education. They don't understand your values.
>
> My instructor does not look at us as young adults; he talks down to us.

> Some educators I've encountered act as if they believe that Hispanics in general have a very low intelligence factor. They seem to believe that as a people we are very good for manual labor, but not for higher education.

There is some evidence here to support the notion that culturally diverse students must first be objectively and subjectively considered against the backdrop of their own cultural backgrounds rather than against those of educators and the sociocultural milieu of institutions. In the instance of culturally diverse students, we too quickly forget that students are preoccupied with their own socio-psychological well-being first and institutional priorities, grounded in academic achievement, second. It is conceivable that until these students can meet their needs for affiliation, psychological control over the environment, and the like, they will be unconcerned about the mechanistic need that institutions and educators have for them.

This issue seems most noticeable when students first come to the college campus. For example, the behavior of the typical college freshman, whether a commuter or a resident, is similar to that of a tourist in a foreign country. Immediately after checking into a room (leaving bags packed), all energies are directed toward becoming familiar with the campus. In particular, freshmen want to locate other students with whom they have something in common (usually in the Union); people who can give them information about social activities, solving personal problems, and instructors to avoid (in this order); and personal service accommodations. Essentially, freshmen are looking first for personal comfort and some measure of control over the new environment. In part, these will initially come from familiar people like themselves. The familiar will then be used as a springboard for interactions and relations with others in the new culture.

The question is how can institutions demonstrate sensitivity to the self-concerns of students when they first arrive? At first a simplistic response like, "show them the laundry room" seems appropriate. At second glance, however, because students' self-concerns also are generalizable to relations (positive and negative) with faculty, more complex and purposeful action is necessary. Students need help in understanding the invisible power structures of institutions and how they are affected by them; their personal and academic limitations as well as their talents and resources for overcoming limitations; how to enter and achieve acceptance status with people who are different from themselves; and how to handle responsibilities not

related to postsecondary studies, but which have significant impact upon them. Shuy (1969) pointed out that by the time a child enters school he has already learned culturally acceptable ways of thinking, speaking, and behaving. He has developed a value system that usually includes such concepts as right/wrong, good/bad, and important/unimportant. He has learned that certain physical and behavioral contrasts are important and others are unimportant. Ultimately, from his experiences the child learns how to learn through knowing what to attend to and what not to attend to. If what the child attends to and what the school expects him to attend to are congruent, learning is facilitated. If what the child has learned to attend to is incongruent with what the school expects, learning inhibited. These same children grow into adults.

Thus, educators must consider at a minimum the following propositions. Culturally diverse learners in higher education:

- Must be understood as adults with varying levels of socio-cultural and academic maturity; they must not be viewed as empty vessels to be filled and capped.
- Desire educational methods which respect and facilitate their ability to think independently and creatively.
- Desire flexible, open-minded, responsive educators; they are unwilling to sit by silently and be seen, but not heard.
- Require diverse educational systems; that is, diverse learners require diverse learning styles and diverse learning styles require diverse instructional methods.

Educators in the project substantiated what past researchers have said about culturally diverse learners: they bring with them to learning situations a multiplicity of handicaps which inhibit learning. These include: (1) little or no motivation to excel, (2) hostile attitudes toward authority figures, (3) deficient social and educational backgrounds, (4) poor communication skills, (5) difficulty in conforming to institutional standards, (6) unrealistic personal goals, and (7) priorities which do not include or which place education on the bottom rung. However, if educators were to use a different set of cultural binoculars, these perceptions might be somewhat different.

Higher Education Learning Environments

All students expect campus learning environments to differ from their other socio-cultural surroundings. More to the point, culturally diverse students expect educators to talk, look, and behave in ways that are different from significant others in their lives. The problem appears to be, however, not understanding how they fit into the scheme of things. As one student related:

> An educator has his opinion and teaches it. I have my own opinions on some of these matters. What happens is that I get caught between the opinions of the educator and my own ideas and don't know what to believe. I wonder if I have to change my views to those of the educator. When do my opinions count?

Unfortunately, few institutions of higher education offer the type of environmental support needed to help them resolve such personal conflict or to comfortably adjust to these differences.

The responsibility educators have to culturally diverse students continues beyond admission to an institution. Commitment to equality of opportunity should embrace the total learning environment with the underlying goal to accommodate human diversity in as many ways as possible. Without cultural accommodation as a philosophical element in the mission of institutions, cross-culture conflict is a certainty. Doubts of such an element presently existing in the philosophy of many two and four-year postsecondary institutions were piqued by the project. The implication is that institutional operations are grounded in rigidity and universalism. Even without documentation, one merely has to look at the standardization of curriculum models, schedules, credit-hour structures, program degree designs, instructional models and symbolic communication patterns existing across the nation. Status quo elements of higher education learning environments emanate from tradition—a tradition designed to perpetuate itself and the concept of objectivity instead of subjectivity or the personal side of the educative process.

According to Friedenberg (1971), the effect of established rigidity and universalism keeps instruction remote from the reality of sense-

-data and personal experience. It makes teaching, and the learning environment, sterile and detached. Such conditions can only work against the academic progress of all students, but especially against the culturally diverse students who are in majority situations and who desire the acceptance of others.

A learning environment is the hub around which all learning experiences revolve, including social relations and academic endeavors. Communication, exchange of values and ideas, and other social experiences take character from it. And in cyclic but uneven fashion, these experiences also help to shape the character of the environment. Educators and culturally diverse students suggest that the campuses of many institutions are plagued by a lack of academic dynamism and social relevance. In effect they have become the hostages of fear, mechanistic rule, power struggles, feelings of helplessness, and frustration. Not yet fully understood and still demanding attention from researchers is how these conditions are handled by students and educators. What did come through very clearly was the crippling effect they have on the socio-psychological health of students and educators. They meet poor learning conditions which, in turn, lower morale and generate apathy and dispair. Based upon preceding insights, planning improved learning environments in higher education for culturally diverse students may well be advanced by addressing their latent subjective needs, rather than by applying band-aids to obvious but superficial symptoms.

The problem of adjusting learning environments to meet the needs of culturally diverse students is complicated by two things. (1) Educators have a certain amount of autonomy in the classroom (Lortie, 1975); thus educators have the power to seek and bring about change based upon their personal acceptance of the need for making adjustments to the learning environment. (2) Conflict appears to occur mainly at the grass roots level of the environment, classrooms, and laboratories, so it is possible that practitioners have more opportunities to effect significant change in learning environments than do administrators. Again, improvement would seem to depend upon the success of getting educators at the practitioner-level to change. An inherent complication here is that educators must first learn what needs to be changed in terms of "people technologies," and "thing technologies." Second, they must learn how to change so that the two technologies are integrated.

What should be changed? There is no one answer. Institutions also have diverse needs. To be sure, however, institutions have

everything to gain by remodeling their learning environments to allow culturally diverse students to perceive themselves as:

- participating
- deciding
- being informed
- free not to know
- influencing their destiny
- able to delay setting personal goals until they have adequate information

Similarly, educators who work with culturally diverse students should strive to provide environments that:

- Allow individuals to negotiate a mutual culture of learning with each newly formed academic work group or for each new situation.
- Foster several two-way channels of communication between educators and students, or between one subculture of students and another, so that if one channel becomes clogged, other conduits for feedback are available; the goal is to facilitate a free-flowing exchange of information as a preventive approach to cross-cultural conflict.
- Nurture the transfer of knowledge, seek to develop new behavior, and make a conscious effort to alter attitudes utilizing a humanistic approach rather than a depersonalized academic approach.
- Maximize students' free, but informed choices.
- Anticipate students' unrestrained curiosity about cultural diversity by building a climate of trust that allows them to comfortably explore explicit and implicit differences and similarities among people.

Learning environments with these features have the capacity to increase the accommodation levels of students and educators for human diversity.

Another possible benefit is that they will cease courtships with defeating attitudes such as those threading through this report.

Instruction in Higher Education

Instruction involves people interacting with each other or people interacting with other aspects of the learning environment. In essence, instruction is an active process, a form of behavior. It is behavior that causes ideas in the minds of people to connect and to be interpreted as intended. It is also behavior that moves curriculum from the point of abstraction to concrete observable and measurable phenomena. Understanderably then, some students and educators find the instructional process a direct source of cross-cultural conflict.

Instruction is considered primarily the responsibility of those who implement it, mainly educators. Because educators are cultural beings through whom curriculum concepts are sifted and communicated during instruction, it is conceivable that instruction is largely culture-bound behavior reflecting the beliefs and attitudes of the educators who design and implement it. Evidence to this effect has surfaced over and over again. If true then, when educators do not respect human diversity, can the instruction delivered by them demonstrate respect for human diversity? There is evidence to suggest that it cannot. One concrete example is this statement by a student:

> I had a professor who was very devastating to me. His derogative remarks about the inferiority of women made it very difficult for me to learn or to ask questions. I was very intimidated. I had lived 25 years with this type of behavior and it was something I wasn't able to handle during that time. I was forced to drop the course, adding to the feeling that I was quitting.

Similar messages of disrespect from educators during instruction have frequently led to resentment and frustration on the part of students and conflict between educators and students. The quotes which follow highlight some of the specific instructional behaviors that students interpret as disrespect:

> One of my instructors will not answer questions fully. He leaves the class puzzled. Yet, he expects us to know everything on test days.

This educator feels that he is right and he will not take criticism from an 18 year old student.

He will not change in his ways and I will not change in mine. He gives you no time to speak your mind on anything in class; he always has the last word. He never teaches anything; he stands in front of the room and talks, but does not say a word.

An educator's obligation is to teach his/her own students, not just to give exams or to hand out assignments. There should be a better way in which to relay information from the teacher to the student.

My culturally different educator ignores me when I raise my hand; lectures about one thing, but tests on something entirely different; and, fails to give relevant examples in lectures.

When this teacher moved the class around, she moved me by a person who bugs me. I asked her twice to move me, but she wouldn't.

Whenever I feel that I am right about a particular situation, I stick to my beliefs and the educator considers me a stubborn person. I'm just trying to express my genuine beliefs. This absolutely irritates me, especially when I'm asked to comment.

She doesn't give anyone (me) a chance to talk, not even to whisper. She talks constantly, expecting not to hear a breath of a sound from anyone. There are too many rules to follow and she is too strict if you break them.

This educator feels that he must always be a leader and never a follower.

It is evident that these students focused on issues of trust and suspicion, personal well-being, openness and closeness, and personal acceptance and rejection. These quotes also point to some of

the areas where there is possibly a need for change in the instructional behavior of educators. An outline of these areas follows:

A LIST OF CULTURE-BOUND AREAS FOR PERSONAL REFLECTION AND EXPLORATION

I. The teacher's expectations and standards for:

- A. Teacher-student interactions
- B. Dress, cleanliness, and beauty
- C. How students should think
- D. Appropriate learning behavior
- E. Self-expression
- F. Minority and majority students in class
- G. What students should do in their free time

II. The teacher's personal definition of:

- A. Intellectual brightness
- B. Effort
- C. Respect for authority
- D. Academic honesty and dishonesty
- E. Successful learning
- F. Maturity
- G. Beauty, ugliness (human features)
- H. Egalitarianism

III. The teacher's way of:

- A. Handling fear, frustration, and conflict
- B. Communicating acceptance and rejection

C. Using humor

D. Manipulating people

E. Showing power and authority

F. Doing more for students than what the job calls for

G. Dealing with the emotions (happiness, sadness, disappointment, etc.) of others and self

IV. The teacher's feelings about:

A. Who or what is responsible for the academic unpreparedness of some students

B. The type of student who is worthy of the teacher's high esteem

V. The teacher's preference for:

A. Treating students the same or treating students differently

B. Assigning group or individual learning activities

C. Being a minority or being poor

D. Teaching aggressive or docile students

E. Dark or bright colors

What else can we do to strike an optimal relationship between instruction and the special needs of culturally diverse students? Waller (1932), Sarson (1971), and Spindler (1974) all suggest studying the problem from the social and cultural perspective of educators. Specifically, Waller claims that insight must come from investigating the educative process as a function of the interaction of personalities (p. 448). To expand this notion are several related ideas.

Most instructional techniques today are from monocultural models for monocultural groups of students. Since these models are no longer relevant and are challenged by students and educators, one of the things that must be done is to influence educators to use

alternative models and change their instruction. But for instruction to change, the attitudes and behaviors of educators must change. Getting educators to change their attitudes, values, and beliefs has proven to be a difficult task. If instruction is as culture-bound and personal as we think, the difficulties of getting them to change their instructional behavior will be an even more challenging task. Spindler (1974) reminds us that "cultural commitment is a significant factor in resistance to change or the appropriation of it." Fullan (1972) adds this clue about why such resistance typifies reactions to impending change:

> Change requires the unlearning and learning of new roles by sets of individuals (in role relationships) almost simultaneously, while at the same time, there are strong tendencies to lapse back into old roles (p. 40).

Similar clues are offered by other researchers. For example, Nickse (1973) faults the poor self-image of some educators, their defensiveness, and their complacency as major factors in their resistance to change. And Giacquinta, after studying the receptivity of 75 educators to sex education, concluded that there is a status-risk explanation for educators' receptivity to change. In retrospect, is it possible that educators perceive having to change to accomodate the needs of culturally diverse students as a threat to their status?

From all indications, Fullan, Spindler, Nickse, and Giaquinta are quite accurate. Unfortunately, higher education suffers from theoretical and methodological gaps in its knowledge base about how to influence educators to change their instructional behavior. The gaps broaden when referencing behaviors are controlled by cultural background and personality factors. Perhaps this is the reason that Waller's challenge has never been fully met.

Bennis, Benne, Chin, and Corey (1976), however, admonish the following about any type of change:

> Social invention may impinge on human rights and values in many ways—through the ends served by the change, the targets at which it is directed, the means chosen to implement it, and its direct or indirect consequences. At its core, ethical responsibility requires a full consideration of the process and probable conse-

> quences of intervention in the light of a set of guiding values. (pp. 494-495)

These words admonish us that no matter what changes are sought in instruction designed for culturally diverse students, educators control the success of their own efforts. Such changes must be more than paper transactions. Educators must believe in what they do, be consistent in the actions they take, and closely monitor their progress.

Institutional Approaches and Practices

> I become defensive of our school—our town—our system—our government, especially when students come and expect the T.V. or Hollywood type lifestyles and living conditions, or act "persecuted" or as though they do not have to conform to the rules of the system because of their cultural differences.

Although many institutions of higher education, in the name of equal access, provide for increased admissions of culturally diverse students, they continue to offer a traditionally structured common curriculum. Thus, what they are offering their non-traditional students may not be equal access to education at all, but instead, mere equality of opportunity to answer "present" in a higher education setting.

Backus (1984) implies that institutions must begin to restructure traditional procedures to meet the needs of its new clientele, especially the older adult. She stated:

> Ask returning adult students how they feel about going through the typical registration lines, trying to find their way around campus, to locate a parking place, or to find some materials in the library. (p. 12)

Backus asserted further that their answers would differ from typical undergraduates who were used to such red tape, and would reflect feelings and perceptions which have implications for enrollment patterns.

Time-honored practices such as testing and grading are still other areas of concern which have surfaced in the recent past as causal

factors of cross-cultural conflict. Astin (1982) claimed that these practices are in conflict with the fundamental purposes of education and pose the single most serious obstacle to the academic progress of minorities. He advised the replacement of such practices with systems more in step with the needs and accomplishments of the changing populations they serve. He specifically called for redefining the purpose of standardized testing, utilizing value-added models of admission and alternative selection procedures, restructuring policy to strengthen the transferrability of community college students to four-year institutions, and personal support services for underprepared minorities. These few preliminary indicators strongly suggest two things. First, culturally diverse postsecondary students are experiencing some problems which can be linked to outdated, irrelevant institutional approaches and practices in the educational process. Second, retention and the failure to greatly advance the academic progress of ethnic and social minorities are problems that institutions have created by not remaining relevant to a changing society.

If we listen closely to what some culturally diverse students and educators are saying, the message is one of encouragement, that institutions will address the relevancy issue by:

- Improving learning conditions and general climate on campuses
- Retraining faculty for cultural adaptation and accommodation competencies
- Developing faculty accountability models focused on the services provided culturally diverse student populations
- Developing and implementing policies which reflect commitment to cross-cultural literacy about minority and majority subcultural groups at all instructional levels
- Installing systems of communication which provide for feedback from students and mechanisms for problem-solving issues

- Building learning environments which help educators to clarify their academic identities and strengthen their own self-concepts so that human diversity is less threatening and debilitating

- Providing more intimate leadership in the development of new curricula

- Institutionalizing a diagnostic-prescriptive approach to accommodating both the cultural and cognitive needs of students, especially their cultural needs

Experience suggests further that a major problem at many institutions is not unawareness of the cross-cultural conflict problem, but lack of knowledge about how to reduce it. In consequence, it has often been treated somewhat like a "closet skelton" with no real effort to do anything but hide it. Probably there are many reasons for this inaction. Should the conflict continue unabated, however, the expectation is for increased numbers of drop-out educators and students, or more poorly educated students and educators who have retired on the job.

Scollon (1981) suggested another view of the problem after studying the high attrition rate of Alaska Native students at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks. He stated that:

> ... the fundamental conflict was between what is called "the institution's knowledge" and "human knowledge." The institution's knowledge characterizes the relationships between individual members or clients that are governed by institutional considerations. Human knowledge characterizes the relationship between members or clients that are governed by human interpersonal considerations. By framing the problem as a problem of retention, the institution was incapable of perceiving the issue from the point of view of the Alaska Native students. (p. 5)

Essentially what Scollon pointed out was the institutions took a traditional, mechanistic approach to what was really a human, socio-cultural problem. Other institutions with non-traditional, diverse student populations probably make the same mistake, thereby never getting to the root of the problem. In failing to

cultivate a new world view and other soicial mechanisms for dealing with new students, they will be forced into applying old solutions to a very new and different set of problems. This approach can only be expected to generate more cross-cultural conflict.

In conclusion, most educational systems have as a common goal to stamp out illiteracy among the people of that system. This goal is broad enough to support different approaches to bringing about the desired outcome, but these approaches must be inclusive of all segments of the population and must be synchronized to avoid efforts which are at cross purposes with one another. Synchronization in this case would necessarily involve: (1) cooperation and collaboration among the key units at an institution, (2) coordination of curriculum with needs, (3) integration of "people technologies" with "thing technologies," and (4) tailoring efforts to expected outcomes — process and product.

TOWARD CULTURAL ADAPTATION AND ACCOMODATION

IV. Recommendations for Change

Should educators be expected to successfully accommodate the cultural diversity of students when they know so little about who these students really are, or how the students' cultural backgrounds differ from their own? Can educators be expected to solve cross-cultural conflict when they understand little about the role of their behavior in the evolution of conflict situations? Can they be expected to know what adjustments to make in their behavior to minimize such conflict or how to adjust their behavior and at the same time preserve their own self-images? And can they be expected to design cross-cultural intervention strategies without receiving specialized training? Each of these questions deserves an immediate negative response. Emerging at the time, however, is the question, how can educators be helped to meet such expectations? In response, this report urges three major recommendations.

Recommendation One: Effective Staff Development

Well-planned training programs to expand educators' cross-cultural backgrounds is an obvious solution and the first recommendation toward resolving some of the conflict identified in the study. Educators must receive specialized training in providing education that is multicultural to all learners in higher education.

Education that is multicultural (EMC) is defined by different people in different ways. It simply depends upon who and where you are. Some people define it as good old human relations. Others define it narrowly, for example, as bilingual education or the study of one or more thnic groups. Still others romanticize it as the study of foreign cultures in distant lands. Finally, there are those who define it as the problem solving of Black-White racial issues. In isolation none of these areas can be called education that is multicultural, but cumulatively they represent the heart of the matter. As used in this report, EMC means a process of education characterized by belief in and demonstration of acceptance and respect for human diversity.

Since culture comprises the complex systems of people and their lifeways, staff development in this area is a delicate intervention. Values, norms, language, ethnicity, sex, age, and beliefs are all areas known to frequently evoke such consequences as pain, defensiveness, anger, rejection, and failure on the parts of people. As a result, the recommendation is extended further by admonishing that training goals should encompass the development of educators in the following areas:

> **Affective Domain.** Experiences which cultivate the attitudes of acceptance and respect for the worth, dignity, and integrity of various groups and individuals.
>
> **Cognitive Domain.** Experiences which expand knowledge and understanding of various subcultural groups and culturally diverse individuals, including the explicit and implicit characteristics of their lifeways.
>
> **Interpersonal Interactions.** Experiences which develop skill in communication and behaving appropriately with the culturally diverse.

But previous studies and experience point out that many staff development activities are perceived to be ineffective and a waste of time by the educators who participate in them (Gallegos, 1980; McLaughlin and Marsh, 1978; Schiffer, 1978). On various occasions, public school teachers, for instance, explained their dissatisfaction this way: "We need someone to show us rather than tell us what to do." Similarly, some college professors asserted, "That is good information, but not my area of interest or expertise," or, "we have been doing that for years." Thus, to deliver effective staff development in EMC is a serious matter. Staff developers must look for better ways to influence educators at all levels to be more accepting

of staff development as a retraining process. Moreover, they must strive to convince educators of the value of cultural adaptation and cultural accommodation in the education process. Several notions, many from practical experience, will be shared to extend developers' ideas about how to offer effective training.

Toward Effective Staff Development in EMC

Probably, the types of approaches to staff development for EMC are as numerous as the people who conduct the activities. But most, if not all of those observed over the years, seem to deal directly or indirectly with the "people" dimension of EMC, attending either to the explicit cultural characteristics of diverse subcultural groups or to special services for them. This is commendable and congruent with commonly held beliefs about solutions to problems involving the education of special needs students. But it is the quality and scope of the "people" dimension in these approaches that are suspect. Several observations will clarify this concern. Most observed staff development approaches:

- overlooked the majority culture, thereby suggesting that for whatever reasons, this culture was not in need of understanding by nonmembers.

- Ignored or abused the theory of developmental stages in the emotional and social growth of individuals.

- disregarded the role of "tone" and the role of participants' perceptions in determining whether they accepted the information shared

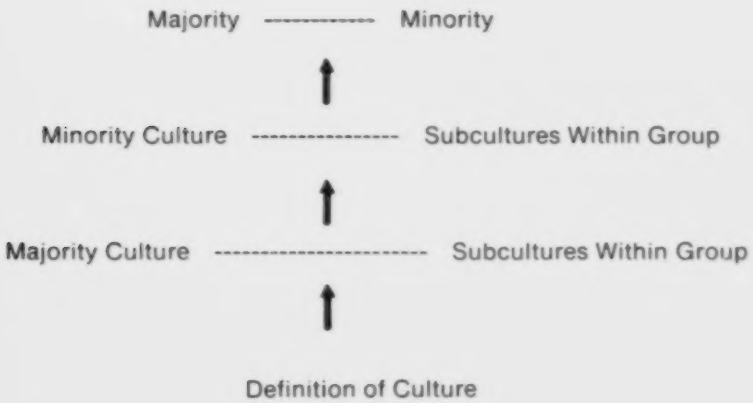
Sin of Omission: The Majority Culture. Despite the fact that this country, because of tradition and power, has been and still is commanded by a majority culture, opportunities for members and non-members to gain a clearer understanding of the culture should be provided. To assume that longevity or pervasiveness breeds understanding of the majority culture is naive. In this sense, observed staff development approaches are naive and may be viewed as inadequate attempts to promote cultural understanding.

Staff developers must not be blamed totally for the majority culture being somewhat neglected in efforts to popularize EMC.

Other constituencies, some with large captive audiences, are guilty of the same offense. Textbook authors, researchers, and educators have omitted any type of systematic exploration of this group under the ethnocentric pretext that it is the universe around which all other subcultures revolve; therefore, it is already understood by everyone. This assumption supports racism, classism, and the general oppression suffered by those who are different.

Members and non-members of the majority culture need to recognize that like other cultural groups, it too is actually a composite of many subcultures, each with its own distinguishing ethics, lifeways, and artifacts. One has only to ask people who consider themselves members to compare stories of their childhood. The cultural patterns reflected by these stories in most instances will be very different. The point is that when the term "culturally different" is used, reference is to differences between two or more patterned lifeways, not to skin color or race. What the various lifeways within the majority culture are then becomes a very necessary question and must be addressed by staff developers.

If those who hope to accomplish the goals of the EMC want to be successful in their missions, the training they provide must not discriminate against cultures. At the very least, three levels of cross-cultural exploration must be conducted. These three levels are identified below.


Majority ---------- Minority
Minority Culture ---------- Subcultures Within Group
Majority Culture ---------- Subcultures Within Group
Definition of Culture

Consideration for Emotional and Social Growth. Why should the developmental stages of an individual's emotional and social growth be considered in staff development for EMC? Respect for cultural diversity is a function of how one feels about and behaves socially toward culturally diverse people. If respect is the goal, the emotional and social maturity of staff development participants must be assessed and nurtured. According to experts such as Fuchs (1969), this nurturing begins with self-awareness. Experience suggests that the staff development strategy best demonstrating this theory is a type of cultural cartharsis, so named for present purposes. Cultural cartharsis incorporates the best from a number of different approaches and is a viable option for working with educators in higher education.

Cultural catharsis means that developers help participants to identify, acknowledge, and explore their own prejudices, beliefs, and value systems. A desirable outcome is for participants to understand how they see and why they feel as they do about people who are different from themselves. Fuchs found that this area lies so often largely beneath the level of individual consciousness, and average members of the society rarely verbalize it even to themselves (p. 33). Ultimately, participants should be led to see the relationship between their feelings and the behaviors they use to carry out their academic responsibilities. The work of Landes, referred to earlier in this report, offers ideas for how this might be accomplished.

Factual information about culturally diverse groups which challenges long-held prejudices, beliefs and values is an integral part of the cultural cartharsis experience, but is not an end in itself. Sensitivity is the goal. So when given opportunities to assess their personal feelings against the facts, participants must also be encouraged to identify areas of personal behavior in need of change. An underlying assumption here is that people are more willing to change those behaviors which they identify for themselves as needing to be changed. There are several strengths to this approach: (a) the personal growth and development of individual participants is considered; (b) value analysis and practice in related decision-making areas are addressed; (c) the relationship between cultural background and behavior is emphasized; and (d) participants, because the depth of personal awareness about their cultural backgrounds is expanded, receive direct benefits.

To be most effective, developers should strive to operate on the basis of needs assessment data about each new group of participants. Knowledge of participants' past and present experiences,

and an understanding of where they are congnitively with EMC concepts are important pieces of background information for planning. Generally acknowledged is that a single staff development session cannot be all things to all people. And obviously, complete cultural cartharsis cannot be accomplished in one session if it is to be effective. Thus, where people are in their emotional and social development and how quickly they can be taken from that point to a logical next point will dictate a specific time frame. Assessments conducted in advance of staff development sessions can help developers to screen out unnecessary activities, set time lines, and increase the relevancy of offerings. Actually, the principle of readiness for learning can be applied.

Except in rare cases and upon special arrangement, staff development activities for EMC have not been known to be offered on a regular schedule for prolonged periods of time with a single group. Usually they are self-contained, short-lived, ad hoc events. Past observations also indicate that such ad hoc activities often leave expectations unmet. Developers go off on tangents in their discussions, planned activities are seldom implemented as designed, most important points to be made are frequently forgotten, or participants receive only enough information to make them (as some would say) dangerous. The tendency toward ad hoc means that developers must plan approaches which give the best yield in the time alloted. If there will be opportunities for additional sessions, planning is fairly easy; however, one-time-only affairs can be formidable planning tasks. Regardless, principles of training and learning must be applied, change strategies must be appropriately implemented, multi-cultural content must be treated fairly, and the quality of communication must be maintained at a high level.

Tone As a Factor of Influence. The tone of what is presented to staff development participants is as important as what is presented to them on matters of EMC. Tone refers to the spirit of verbal and non-verbal messages sent (intentionally and unintentionally) by developers. Tone can negatively or positively affect the perceptions, feeling, and attitudes or participants because it helps to set the emotional climate of a staff development event. Tonal quality must be demonstrative of respect for participants—it must be sensitive to the cultural diversity of the group if developers wish to influence participants to put into practice what they learn.

Realistically, staff development for EMC is a transparent process. It derives initially from the race and sex of staff developers and participants, and from how these people view one another. Hence, if a developer is Black and female, participants will view information from one perspective; if the developer is a White male, a different perspective will be taken; and, a racially mixed development team will give rise to still a different perspective on the information being shared. This same theory of race and sex as determinants of participants' perceptions of culture-bound information holds true when considered in the reverse: what participants see and hear will be colored by their own race and sex. Adding to the complexity of matters, but equally significant is that the cultural backgrounds of developers and participants will play key roles in shaping messages sent and received about EMC regardless of race or sex.

Why does the transparency feature seem so important? Again, experience provides a clue. It appears that a staff developer's skin color and sex often (a) tip the scales in participants' acceptance or non-acceptance of a concept; (b) dictate the structure of activities; (c) send unintended messages to participants; (d) cause participants to recall and have a preoccupation with certain prejudiced beliefs and myths which might nullify any information being shared; and (e) act to personalize rather than to objectify information, thereby minimizing the value of what is heard. The bottom line, of course, is that the physical make-up of developers and participants, along with tone characteristics, are contextual features of staff development for EMC which demand serious consideration in the design of training and in the selection of information to be shared. Although developers have little control over their own physical make-up, they can make adjustments for it. Such adjustments must be carefully made and in avoidance of predictions about participants which lead to stereotyping.

Staff developers in EMC rarely provide services directly to principal parties. Educators work for institutions which belong to the public; thus, educators are only the middle persons, brokers in a real issue. As such, they cannot change at will the policies, philosophies, goals, and objectives of institutions; they can simply implement them, or present to the principal parties cases for change. For developers, the brokerage feature means that to sell EMC successfully, staff development offerings must go beyond the educators who face them in their sessions to the organizations and systems these individuals represent. It means helping them to clarify and understand the relationship between their personal backgrounds and behavior, between their behavior and organizational

goals, between organizational goals and the personal values of students, and between the personal values of students and their cultural backgrounds. Finally, it means giving educational brokers the skills they will need to persuade principal parties to buy into programs which reflect acceptance for cultural diversity.

Recommendation Two: An Aggressive Research Program

Research is another key to resolving conflicts which grow out of cultural incongruities between students and educators in higher education. The second recommendation calls upon researchers and practitioners to implement planned programs of systematic research. For quite some time, researchers have hypothesized three classes of variables operating in educational organization: (a) personal, (b) cultural or societal, and (c) organizational or situational (Spitzer, 1973; Waller, 1932; Sarason, 1971; and Spindler, 1974). Since human and cultural conflict in higher education dominate the themes in this report, the cultural variables are of most concern at the present time. What follows is a discussion that highlights some potential areas for investigation.

Needed Research on Students. Flaws identified by researchers, and the experiences of this project, point out a need to expand the current knowledge base to include culturally diverse learners on college and university campuses. Research activities should be designed to identify, define, and synthesize information about all aspects of their lifeways. Their learning behaviors, however, should be primary focus. Prior sections of this report indicate a need not only to expand existing models on learning and instruction, but also a need to build new models. How do various subcultural groups learn? How does divorce, single parenting, sex, age, familial lifestyles, career changes, economics, or criminal background affect learning — learning capacity, learning styles, learning needs, learning outcomes, and interactions with certain educators?

When properly employed, action research, historical research, theory-building research, experimental research, and anthropological research will contribute greatly to building new models by offering answers to questions such as:

1. Are the expectations educators have for culturally diverse learners different from those they hold for learners who have backrounds similar to their own?

2. What are the priorities of culturally diverse learners at various stages of their academic careers? What are the implications of these priorities for educators and the design of academic programs?

3. How do the expectations that learners hold for culturally different educators differ from those they hold for educators with backgrounds similar to their own? What standards do they use to assess educators?

4. How do culturally diverse students arrive at the goals, realistic and unrealistic, they set for themselves? What criteria do educators use to determine that these goals are unrealistic? How does the educator's decision that a particular student has set an unrealistic goal affect the educator's future interactions with that student?

Planning and preparation are the keys to success of any research project, regardless of how it is conducted. In planning research on culturally diverse students, consideration should be given to:

- the impact of family living and responsibilities on student behavior (family pathology)
- socialization experiences
- existing academic support services
- learning disabilities
- level of academic culture shock
- vocational goals and aspirations
- level of cultural literacy

Each of these concerns focuses on variables which will have great impact upon investigative outcomes.

That there is a new type of student coming to dinner at two and four-year institutions is no secret. Of all the issues raised by our preliminary probing into culture conflict, the one that seems most emergent, and the one implied by the questions raised for researchers, is the issue of definition for these culturally diverse learners. Definitions guide the language-logic processes,

perceptions, and behaviours of people. Above all, definitions make possible true communication among people.

Besides defining the newcomers, another task for researchers is to determine how they differ from traditional students. In so doing, researchers must be careful not to approach the task from a negative perspective lest they become victims of their own cultural blindness. In other words, difference should not be looked upon as wrong or bad, but simply as unlike another. Viewing differences negatively subtly leads one to search for ways to reject or condemn, to change them to the status quo, or to make them "right". Culturally diverse learners are not wrong or bad because of who they are; they are just different. As Kallen postulated in 1906 when he coined the phrase cultural pluralism:

> Individuality is indefeasible, differences are primary, and consequently human beings have an indefeasible right to their differences, however they may be constituted, whatever they may consist in: color, faith, sex, occupation, possessions, or what have you. (pp. 5-6)

By spelling out these differences, researchers can make it possible for educators to better understand the changes necessary to accommodate their special needs.

Needed Research on Educators. The theoretical and methodological research bases on appropriate instructional strategies for traditional and culturally diverse learners must also be expanded. McDonald and Elias (1976) noted broadly that skill, structure, flexibility, adaptability, creativity, interaction, and feedback are not uniformly applicable to all academic levels, subject areas, and educational situations. Lindsay (1984) concurred with McDonald and Elias. Lindsay stressed that how these strategies are applied distinguishes between practices of teaching adults and practices of teaching children, thereby validating existence of androgogical-pedagogical dichotomy. Knox (1980) on the other hand, advised that beyond these broad areas of technical skills, educators of adult learners must demonstrate self-confidence, informality, enthusiasm, responsiveness, and creativity.

Lindsay (1984) and Beder and Darkenwald (1982) indicated a need for research efforts toward examining the instructional styles of educators who work with higher education learners. Darling-Hammond, Wise, and Pease (1983), Shavelson and Dempsey-

Atwood (1976) and Zumwalt (1982) agreed with this notion. They recommended that consideration be given to understanding when educators tend to adjust their behaviors to the needs of diverse learners.

There is a need to build upon the knowledge base in this area by developing and testing hypotheses about the nature of those instructional strategies educators have found to be most effective with culturally diverse learners. Information of this type will enable more educators to better adjust their behaviors to the learning styles of these students. Enough has been learned to warrant the suggestion that future research efforts be toward understanding relationships between instructional time and student achievement, grouping for instruction, interactive instruction, motivational strategies, instructional sequences for culturally diverse student populations, faculty-student communication styles, faculty-student expectations, alternative instructional models, faculty-student mentoring relationships, and faculty understanding of and attitudes toward self. Some of the urgent questions confronting researchers and practitioners are:

1. How can educators in higher education be sensitized to the need for developing cross-cultural instructional models which emphasize skills of cultural adaptation and accommodation?

2. What are the minimal competencies in cultural adaptation and accomodation that educators in cross-cultural situations should possess to provide effective instruction? Counseling? Tutoring?

3. What type of orientation must culturally diverse students receive if they are to adapt successfully to instruction provided by educators from varying cultural backgrounds?

4. Would instruction that de-emphasizes rigid lines between the roles of educators and the roles of students increase the motivational levels of culturally diverse students?

5. What would be the nature of a diagnostic tool to measure the cultural adaptability of educators and their levels of cultural accommodation during instruction?

Needed Research on Learning Environments. One major reason for cross-cultural conflict in higher education is the poor sociocultural health of its learning environments. Both students and educators appear to suffer its consequences. Principally, however, grass roots educators in classrooms and laboratories must shoulder primary responsibility for changing this condition. If their suffering is to cease, conflict be minimized, and the sociocultural health of learning environments improve, then what must happen is the development of carefully planned cultures of learning. This challenge can better be met with the assistance of researchers who provide answers to pertinent questions. Examples of such questions are:

1. How can learning environments be altered to offer educators and culturally diverse students rewards which increase motivation, improved images of self, power sharing, and decision making?

2. Can cross-cultural conflict in higher education be schematized according to different learning environment pathologies? If so, what are the various pathologies and indices thereof?

3. To what extent do educators in higher education perceive their learning environments to be consistent with the administration's philosophy about culturally diverse students, but inconsistent with their own desires? What changes would they make in the educational process for these students if given the freedom to do otherwise? How do perceived discrepancies affect student-educator relationships?

4. To what extent do environments in higher education cause culturally diverse students to perceive contradictions between the goals they set for themselves and the goals set for them by educators and institutions? How do the students react to these contradictions?

Needed Research on Institutional Approaches to Cultural Accommodation. There is a need to study the relationship between institutional approaches and practices and the needs of culturally diverse students. Educational policy, academic support services, admissions and retention, academic orientation and achievement, student social life, the quality of personnel, and financial aid are some of the salient areas for inquiry.

Specific questions which must be addressed instead of being swept under the rug include the following:

1. To what extent do institutions take into consideration the sociocultural backgrounds of educators when attempting to meet the special needs of culturally diverse students? What is the process?

2. How effective are existing remedial counseling, advisement, and other support programs for culturally diverse students?

3. Do institutions have adequate channels for transmitting feedback from culturally diverse students and their educators to top-level administrators? If so, what are they? How do they operate? How is the feedback handled?

4. What quality-control measures do institutions take to insure appropriate conditions of learning for various student subcultures?

5. In institutions that have made special efforts to provide for culturally diverse students, where is the emphasis placed: on "thing technologies" or "people technologies"? What are the outcomes of this emphasis in terms of student achievement?

6. Are there institutions that are successful in handling cross-cultural conflict? Which institutional approaches seem to be most effective? In what areas? Can these approaches be described for replication in a systematic and organized way?

7. Is there such a thing as positive cross-cultural conflict for institutions? Students? Educators? If so, how might it be defined?

There is no substitute for systematic problem solving through research. Many colleges and universities today suffer from cross-cultural conflict because they have attempted to effect resolutions on the basis of ill-founded information, or on the basis of no information at all. Instead of this short-sighted vision, institutions must take the long perspective, building into permanent systems the capacity for problem-solving and change. For after the existing new

order of students passes on, others will simply take their places—with a new set of differences. Research of the nature proposed here can help institutions to become flexible organizations, able to expand and absorb whatever human diversities they meet.

Recommendation Three: Practical Ideas for Developmental Educators

While this report has significant implications for all who are intimately involved in higher education, it should be of greater importance to developmental educators. Information collected from a number of these educators and their students provides a substantial portion of the ideas in this introductory analysis of cross-cultural conflict.

In commenting on culturally diverse students, one striking impression is that an intense cause-effect relationship seems to exist between their perceptions of educators and their observed behavior patterns. They appear motivated to learn, to alter existing attitudes and behaviors, to accept educators as their academic leaders, and to modify their personal value systems. Whether they actually follow through on their motivations seems dependent upon their perceptions of the extent to which educators accept them, with their differences, as worthy human beings.

Some educators will perhaps find this observation difficult to digest, and understandably so, since many of them feel they work extremely hard to accept and help the culturally different. But despite such awareness and consicous efforts, according to Fuchs (1969), people tend to consider so "normal," so "natural" their own behavior, values, and attitudes they are unable to comprehend or accord respect to the behavior, values, and attitudes of those different from themselves. She asserted further that as a result, communication between cultures is blocked (p. 33).

It should also be kept in mind, however, that people generally tend not to see us as we see ourselves. So their perceptions of us, not our intentions, dictate their reactions to what we do. In essence, not only are disparities between perceptions and intentions the norm, but also perceptions represent in an uncanny way what is reality for the perceiver. The educational process is not immune to this quirk of nature. In fact, this theorem urges educators to address those behaviors which students define as reality (not those based upon intentions educators have created for themselves) if the desire is to demonstrate effectively their acceptance of students.

Indications are that a fundamental challenge for educators, especially developmental educators, is learning how to demonstrate acceptance of individual differences in ways that students are able to clearly see and affirm the intended meaning of such behavior. In addition to participating in staff development, and research, there are some practical things they can do immediately in classrooms and laboratories to achieve this objective. Experience has led to the discovery of several pragmatic techniques which will be shared shortly. The reader is forewarned though, that it is precisely because they are techniques that they are presented in a prescriptive and directive format. And although this format disgresses from that on prior pages, it seems a better way of fulfilling this section's goal: to provide developmental educators immediate relief for some of their cross-cultural problems.

1. Implement a system of checks and balances by frequently conducting with the assistance of students short-term action research on students' perceptions of your (a) verbal and nonverbal putdowns, (b) use of sarcasm, and (c) inappropriate use of humor. Simply have students tally or list instances which occur during educator-student interactions over a specified period of time. Implement a reporting system that allows discussion and clarification of any misperceptions.

2. Always have a minimum of three alternative routes for getting accomplished what you want them to do. Allow students to sort the options and decide what is the best route for them.

3. Seek out differences of opinion and never penalize students by following up with negative evaluative statements.

4 Initiate each new educational situation by negotiating with students a culture of learning to fit the needs of that particular group. Be sure that everyone's expectations are made public. Simply writing such expectations in course syllabi is insufficient for this purpose. Be sure to include in the negotiating process these elements of a culture: value system, world view, social organization, academic technology, form of governance, language, and key components of the educational process for the new subculture.

5. At the outset of a learning situation, ask students what kind of involvement and participation they want in learning activities. Answers will differ based upon each student's world view of education. When possible, try to comply.

6. Periodically audio tape, for personal evaluation only, lectures, conversations, and conferences. Ask of your tapes: Did I talk too fast or too much? Did I pronounce words clearly? What was the level of the vocabulary that I used? Did I use words known to be unfamiliar to students?

7. Distinguish publicly your personal opinions from facts. Give students the option to agree or disagree. Your opinions are closely tied to your cultural background and lifeways; to deny such an option is to force students to assume your culture without the actual experience as a reference point.

8. Accept academic culture shock as an element of sociocultural shock; then proceed to interact with students as if they were foreigners in a strange land and you are the guide.

9. Consider that students who have not set life goals or who have set what you think are unrealistic ones actually may not know how to accomplish this task. Give them assistance, rather than condemn them. There is always the possibility that if their backgrounds underprepared them for other things, it underprepared them for goal-setting too.

10. Strive to see yourself as students see you, not as you intend for them to see you. Attempt to determine the reasons for their perceptions. How? Just ask them. You will find them eager to tell you. Be sure, however, that you are ready to hear what they have to say. In so doing, don't allow them to get away with abstract words and broad generalizations. Require them to give specific examples of times and places and to use specific verbs and adjectives. Remember, though, that this is not an English lesson. So control little urges to correct their speech, please. Taking it in the "raw" will net you more information.

11. Stop condeming yourself because you do not know everything there is to know about cultures which differ from your own—or about those similar to your own for that matter. You cannot possibly know everything about another person unless you are really two people in one. Remember: your self-concept is important too.

12. Slice problems with culturally diverse students into smaller pieces until they are a size that you can handle. And address only those areas you can do something about or over which you have direct control. Otherwise you are putting yourself, as well as the student, into a lose-lose situation.

If you are able to work successfully through just these few suggestions, your relations with culturally diverse developmental learners will at least get off to a good start. What happens after this will depend upon just how culturally adaptable you want to become.

CROSS-CULTURAL CONFLICT: MOVING MORE CERTAINLY INTO THE FUTURE THROUGH GLIMPSES OF THE PAST

V. Concluding Comments

The uniqueness of this report is mutifaceted. Besides examining obvious human characteristics (ethnicity, sex, age, and handicap) as critical factors in situations of cross-cultural conflict, it simultaneously explores obscurities such as perceptions, feelings, and attitudes. Moreover, few efforts in the past have considered that the individual cultural styles and backgrounds of educators contribute to the academic success of students. Even fewer efforts have sought to unravel the problems caused by implicit and explicit cultural phenomena. And serious inquiries into culture-conflict on the college or university campus are almost nonexistent. These seldom-traveled paths are reflected in this report. Supporting it's contents are descriptive, qualitative, and preliminary discoveries made by an exploratory project to field test ideas for a pending research endeavor.

In brief review, the following significant points, based on information from participating students and educators, were suggested for future scrutiny:

- A common primary concern of culturally diverse students and educators was how to gain the acceptance and trust of each other.

- Educators and students held culturally-conditioned, preconceived notions about each other which prevented them from seeing the commonalities in their goals, values, and personal needs for recognition, respect, acceptance, and rewards.

- Educators indicated personal values, expectations, feelings, and attitudes which were inconsistent with students' interpretations of their behavior. The reverse was also true.

- Educators, whether consciously or unconsciously, intentionally or unintentionally, appeared to behave in ways which prevented students from meeting the standards they set for them.

- Educators anticipated and made assumptions about role and performance behaviors for themselves and students, but often these expectations seemed to be unknown to self and students.

- Educators saw themselves as mediators of culture, but most often it was their own individual cultural lifeways that dictated the character of mediation.

- When culturally diverse students perceived a message of disrespect from educators, they experienced lowered self-concept; feelings of helplessness, anger, rejection, defeat; and goal and role confusion.

- Culturally diverse students held nonpublic expectations for educators against which they measured all behavior and appearance.

- Educators and students gave unusually candid reports of their feelings and perceptions which suggested a need for them to have increased opportunities to give

and receive feedback on cultural phenomena in the educative process.

- Consistent with the changing cultural context of higher education, there are many transitions which need attention and clarification: role transition for educators and students, programmatic transition in institutions, and social transition or modifications of the learning environment.

Solutions to the culture conflict problem cannot be realized fully by simply taking advantage of training and research as recommended. New ideas must be internalized (accepted), then, put into practice. To accomplish these two steps, it is recommended that educators incorporate at the administrative and grass roots levels cultural adaptation: a process that allows diverse groups of people to merge and adjust their lifeways so that they can work together to achieve common goals. Requisite understandings include individual and organizational lifeways, how these ways differ, and how these ways infringe upon each other. Once educators learn to adapt, they can provide effective leadership in helping students to adapt. Ideally, with these common understandings, educators and students will be able to alter some of their existing behaviors and attitudes and create those which will make it possible for them to share the same environment harmoniously.

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APPENDIX A

THE PARTICIPANTS

PARTICIPATING STATES

1. Arizona
2. Arkansas
3. California
4. Colorado
5. Connecticut
6. Florida
7. Georgia
8. Illinois
9. Indiana
10. Iowa
11. Kansas
12. Kentucky
13. Louisiana
14. Maryland
15. Massachusetts
16. Michigan
17. Minnesota
18. Mississippi
19. Missouri
20. New Hampshire
21. New Jersey
22. New Mexico
23. New York
24. North Carolina
25. Ohio
26. Oregon
27. Pennsylvania

Table I

Summative Description of All Participants

	Participants	
	Students (N=314)	Educators (N=103)
	%	%
Ethnic Make-up		
Black	36.5	16.1
White	50.5	75.8
Hispanic	8.2	6.5
American Indian	0.3	0.0
Other	4.4	1.4
Sex		
Male	44.6	17.7
Female	55.4	82.3
Home Institution		
Two-Year Parochial/Private	30.2	30.6
Four-Year Parochial/Private	50.9	29.0
Two-year Parochial/Private	0.3	4.8
Four-year Parochial/Private	10.7	30.6
Other	7.9	4.8
Regional Participation		
Northeast	48.4	31.1
Northwest	12.7	20.3
Southeast	13.5	22.3
Southwest	21.4	20.3

Table 2

A Description of the Students

(N=279)

	(%)
Regional Participation	
Northeast	48.4
Northwest	12.7
Southeast	17.5
Southwest	21.4
Student Status	
Freshman	64.7
Sophmore	11.3
Junior	8.9
Senior	7.5
Age	
18-20	67.1
21-23	9.2
24-26	5.1
27-29	5.1
30 and Above	13.6
Marital Status	
Single	88.2
Married	11.8
Initial Interactions with Culturally Different	
Before high school	36.9
In high school	29.0
In college	14.5
Not sure	19.7

Table 3
A Description of the Educators
(N=103)

	%
Regional Participation	
Northeast	37.1
Northwest	20.3
Southeast	22.3
Southwest	20.3
Age	
18-20	3.2
21-23	1.6
24-26	1.6
27-29	3.2
30 and above	90.3
Marital Status	
Single	27.9
Married	72.1
Academic Role	
Instructor	45.9
Counselor	16.4
Learning Resource Personnel	29.5
Tutor	8.2
Level of Work	
Freshman	49.1
Souphomore	8.8
Junior	3.5
Senior	1.8
All Levels	36.8
Initial Interactions with Culturally Different	
Before high school	38.3
In high school	20.0
In college	38.3
Not sure	3.3

APPENDIX B

QUANTITATIVE SUMMARIES OF THE PROBLEM

Table 4

Participants' Summary of the Problems

	Participants	
	Students (N=279)	Educators (N=103)
	%	%
Physical Handicaps		
Vision	4.6	2.1
Hearning	2.5	6.4
Limbs	4.2	2.1
Ugliness	8.4	2.1
Weight	5.9	6.4
Personality	74.5	80.9
Location of Conflict		
Regular Classroom	59.7	50.0
Learning Center (or lab)	9.2	30.0
Special Tutoring Site	7.0	6.7
Outside Classroom (i.e., halls, cafeteria, etc.)	13.6	11.7
Off Campus	10.7	1.7

Table 5

Significant Categories and Percentages of Identified Conflict and Concerns

	Percentage Responding		Percentage of Responses	
	Students Responding (N=279)	Educators Responding (N=103)	Student Responses (N=516)	Educator Responses (N=307)
1. Values students educators focus upon in the education process	84.5	92.2	45.7	30.9
2. How educations participate in the education process	59.8	74.6	32.2	24.9
3. Communication between students and educators	33.3	33.9	18.0	11.4
4. Concern about who educates	28.3	44.5	15.3	14.9
5. How students should participate in the education process	22.5	43.6	12.2	14.6

Table 6

Percentages of Students' Perceived Conflict with Specific Subcultures of Educators

	EDUCATORS									
	Black Male	Black Female	White Male	White Female	Hispanic Male	Hispanic Female	American Indian	Other Male	Other Female	General
STUDENTS										
Black Male (N=51)	28.8	5.7	30.7	17.3	1.9	---	---	9.6	5.7	11.5
Black Female (N=71)	7.2	18.0	31.3	28.9	---	3.6	---	8.4	4.8	---
White Male (N=49)	19.2	5.2	33.3	21.0	7.0	---	3.5	14.0	5.2	1.7
White Female (N=73)	8.6	9.8	25.9	30.8	3.7	---	2.4	11.1	1.2	7.4
Hispanic Male (N=12)	---	---	41.6	---	33.3	---	8.3	16.6	---	8.3
Hispanic Female (N=11)	---	36.3	18.1	9.0	---	18.1	9.0	---	9.0	---
American Indian (N=0)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Other Female (N=5)	20.0	---	40.0	40.0	---	---	---	---	---	---
Other Male (N=7)	28.5	14.2	14.2	---	---	---	---	---	---	28.5

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Table 7

Percentages of Educators' Perceived Conflict with Specific Subcultures of Students

STUDENTS

	Black Male	Black Female	White Male	White Female	Hispanic Male	Hispanic Female	American Indian	Other Male	Other Female	General
INSTRUCTORS										
Black Male (N=9)	26.3	5.3	15.8	10.5	5.3	26.3	---	10.5	---	---
Black Female (N=22)	18.1	27.2	22.7	22.7	9.0	22.7	---	4.5	---	---
White Male (N=15)	53.3	6.6	13.3	6.6	6.6	---	---	6.6	---	6.6
White Female (N=41)	29.2	24.3	14.6	12.1	7.3	9.7	---	14.6	2.4	2.4
Hispanic Male (N=0)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Hispanic Female (N=4)	---	25.0	---	---	25.0	---	---	50.0	---	---
American Indian (N=1)	---	---	---	100.0	---	---	---	---	---	---
Other Female (N=1)	---	---	---	---	100.0	100.0	---	---	---	---
Other Male (N=0)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---